1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

PREFACE

The Masai occupy a considerable part of the large plains which extend from about one degree north of the equator to six degrees south of it, situate in both British and German East Africa. Those living in British territory commonly call themselves Il-Maasa[1], whilst the 'German Masai' are to a large extent known as 'L-Oikop[2] or Il-Loumbwa[3]. In olden days the coast people termed them without discrimination Wa-Masai or Wa-Kwayi[4], names which have been perpetuated by Krapf and others.

Sir H. Johnston states[5], and probably correctly, that the Masai represent an early mixture between the Nilotic negro and the Hamite (Gala-Somali); and that this blend of peoples must have been isolated somewhere in the high mountains or plateaux which lie between the Nile and the Karamojo country. Certain it is that the Latuka, who are supposed to be descendants of the ancestral Masai, and who occupy this country, speak a language that is closely allied to the Masai tongue, and have many customs in common with the Masai. The accounts which have been published of the habits and

[1] When spoken rapidly this word is sometimes pronounced Il-Máse (for further particulars see also p. 29, note 4).

[2] 'L-Oikop is believed to signify the possessors of the land. It also means murder (see p. 27, note 3, and p. 310).

[3] Not to be confounded with the so-called Loumbwa (whose real name is Kip-sikiat), a tribe living near the Victoria Nyanza in British East Africa. These Loumbwa or Kip-sikiat are nearly related to the Nandi, and are believed to have migrated from north of Mount Elgon (Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 10). Loumbwa is a term of contempt, and signifies a pastoral people who have taken to agriculture.

[4] The meaning of Kwayi (or Kwayi) in Masai is countries or somewhere. Hildebrandt's suggestion (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1878, p. 329) that Masai is derived from the Masai word 'massa, property, and that Kwayi is a corruption of kal, the Swahili for cattle (given in allusion to their broad-bladed spears), is probably incorrect.

[5] *The Uganda Protectorate*, vol. ii, p. 796.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

INTRODUCTION

The present work, by Mr. Hollis, Chief Secretary to the Administration of the East Africa Protectorate, treats of the language, traditions, and customs of the Masai, one of the most interesting and important tribes of those territories. I am not competent—and there must be few people in the world who are—to criticise by the light of independent knowledge the mass of material which he has brought together, and will merely attempt briefly to summarise the information about the race which we now possess. Mr. Hollis's previous contributions to anthropology, his opportunities for studying and daily conversing with the Masai, and his linguistic talents, which are well known to every one in East Africa, are a sufficient guarantee for the thoroughness and excellence of his work.

The Masai at present inhabit the inland districts of British and German East Africa from the equator to about 6° S. Few of them are found north of the Line, except an isolated settlement just south of Lake Rudolf, and they seem to avoid both the sea and the great central lakes. Many smaller pieces of water, such as Lakes Naivasha and Nakuru, are found in their haunts, but they neither use boats nor catch fish. They are divided at present into two sections, one of which, called 'L-Oikop, is agricultural and settled, while the other, or Masai proper, is entirely pastoral and nomadic. The difference between the two is evidently not ancient, for both speak practically the same language, and it is probable that the agriculturalists of the present time are nomads who have settled down. On the other hand, tradition does not carry the history of the tribe further back than a century at the most[1], and it would be rash to assume that the nomad pastoral state is primitive or very ancient. It is quite probable that there was a large agricultural settlement on the Uasin-Gishu plateau from which the more adventurous warriors detached themselves.

In East Africa the Masai are clearly distinguished by their language, customs, and appearance from the Bantu races (although the latter often imitate them, and have received a certain proportion of Masai blood) and specific singular

[1] The genealogy of the medicine men goes back about one years.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

ɛ-kɪlikae inne-kanoto, nejiŋ, ɛŋwo ɛl-ilitito ɔɔ-'ŋg-ɛlɛŋgi inom, nɛlɛyo ɛl-lɛlɛlɛl le-'nɛlɛt, nɛpuko te-inne-wɛji, nɛnɛɛŋiɛlo.

Oyo lolio ɛŋji ɔ-Lumbwa, nɛlɛtɛtɛɔ nnɛɛ ɔ-Masaa, lako nɛto 'n-gurnaa.

some of them saw this cave and entered it. They journeyed for ten days and eventually reached a salt lake, where they came out of the earth again and settled.

These people are the Lumbwa, who in appearance are like the Masai, but they till the earth[1].

[1] The Lumbwa Masai reside partly near the Nzoia and Nzoyea Lakes. Their settlements are called 'n-gurnaa or plantations.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE "THE MASAI, TH
I
II
III
IV
Plateau
Mumias
Kisumu
Nandi
Kavirondo
Uganda
Victoria Nyanza
Lake Rudolf
Lake Baringo
Lake Naivasha
Lake Elmenteita
Lake Nakuru
Lake Hannington
Lake Magadi
Lake Natron
Kilimanjaro
Mt. Kenya
Mt. Elgon
Mt. Meru
Mt. Longonot
Mt. Suswa
Mt. Kenia
Nairobi
Machakos
Kikuyu
Kisii
Kericho
Nyeri
Fort Hall
Embu
Meru
Kitui
Ukamba
Ukamba Reserve
Kavirondo Reserve
Nandi Reserve
Kisii Reserve
Kikuyu Reserve
Masai Reserve
Laikipia
Laikipia Reserve
Uasin Gishu
Uasin Gishu Plateau
Elgeyo
Marakwet
Suk
Turkana
Samburu
Rendile
Boran
Somali
Somaliland
Abyssinia
Abyssinia Protectorate
Italian Somaliland
Jubaland
Jubaland Province
Northern Frontier Province
Northern Frontier
Northern Frontier District
Northern Frontier Province
Northern Frontier District
Northern Frontier Province
Northern Frontier District
Northern Frontier Province

Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

SAI, THEIR LANGUAGE & FOLKLORE."

[End map (B), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

102
103
131
133
496
634

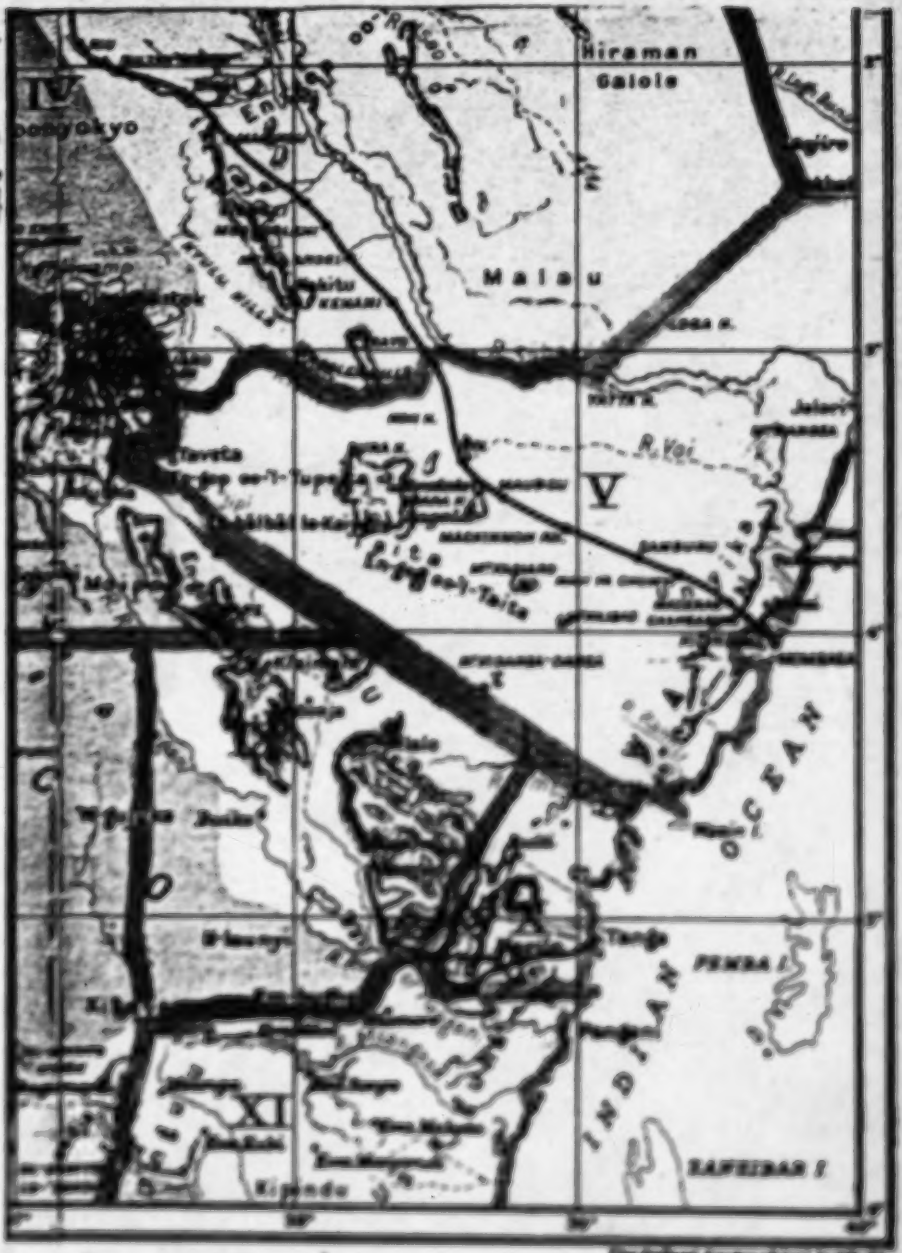
PROVINCES: I Kisumu, II Naivasha, III Kenya, IV Usamb
IX West-Usambara, X Tanga, XI Pangani,

Masai names written

[End Map (C), between pp. 136 & 137]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

101
103
●131
133
496
634



III Usambara, V Bevidshi, VI Taitaland, VII Mumbia, VIII Kilima Njaro, Pangani, XII Mpapua, XIII Kilimatinde.

Boundaries of Provinces

[End map (D), between pp. 356 & 357]

102
103
● 131
133

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

[Chart of positions of frontispiece map.]

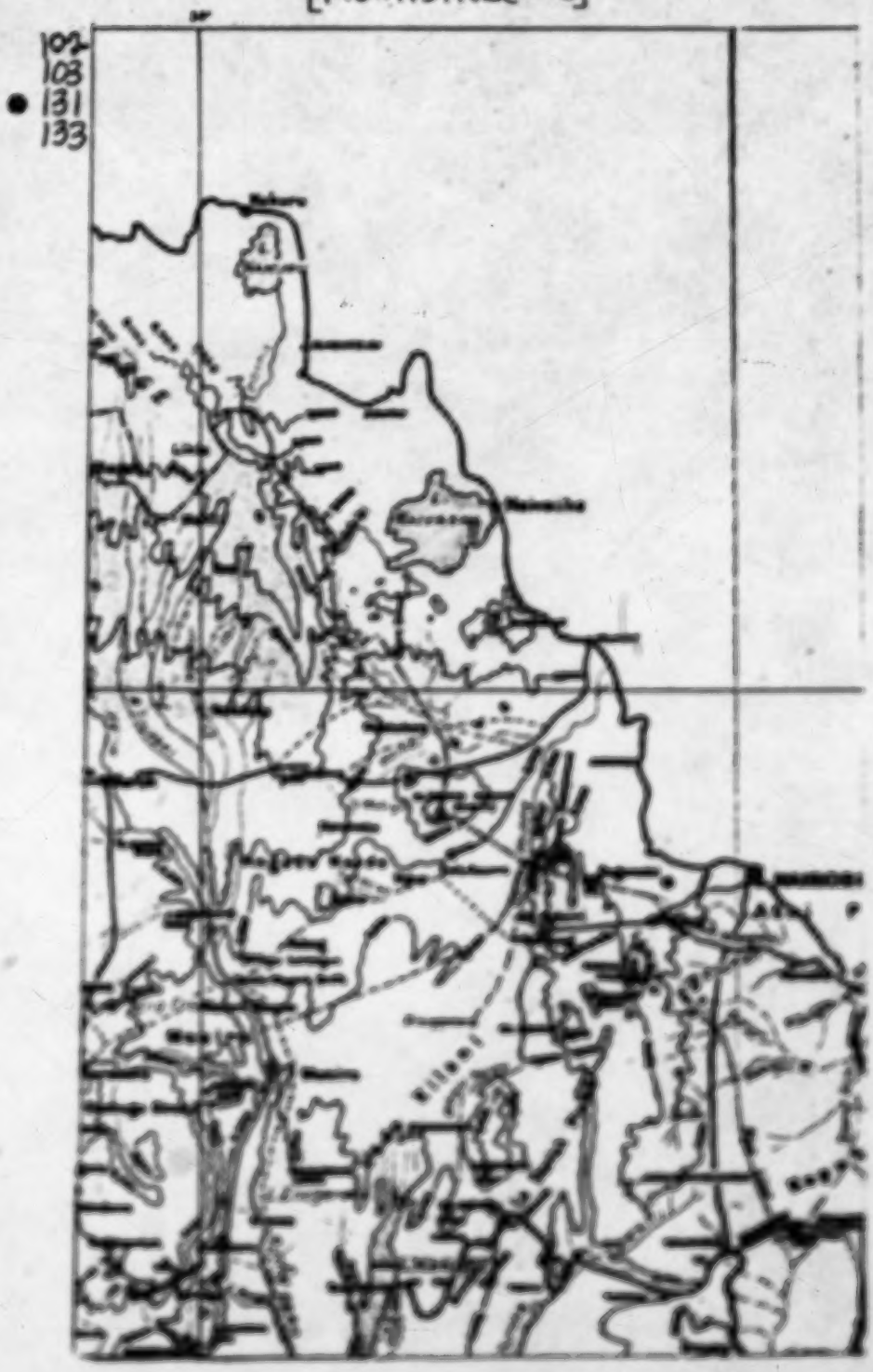
4: Sandford G-4, 5 (918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece – A]

[Frontispiece—B]

102
103
131
133

[Frontispiece—C]



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece - D]

102
103
131
133

THE

MASAI RESERVE

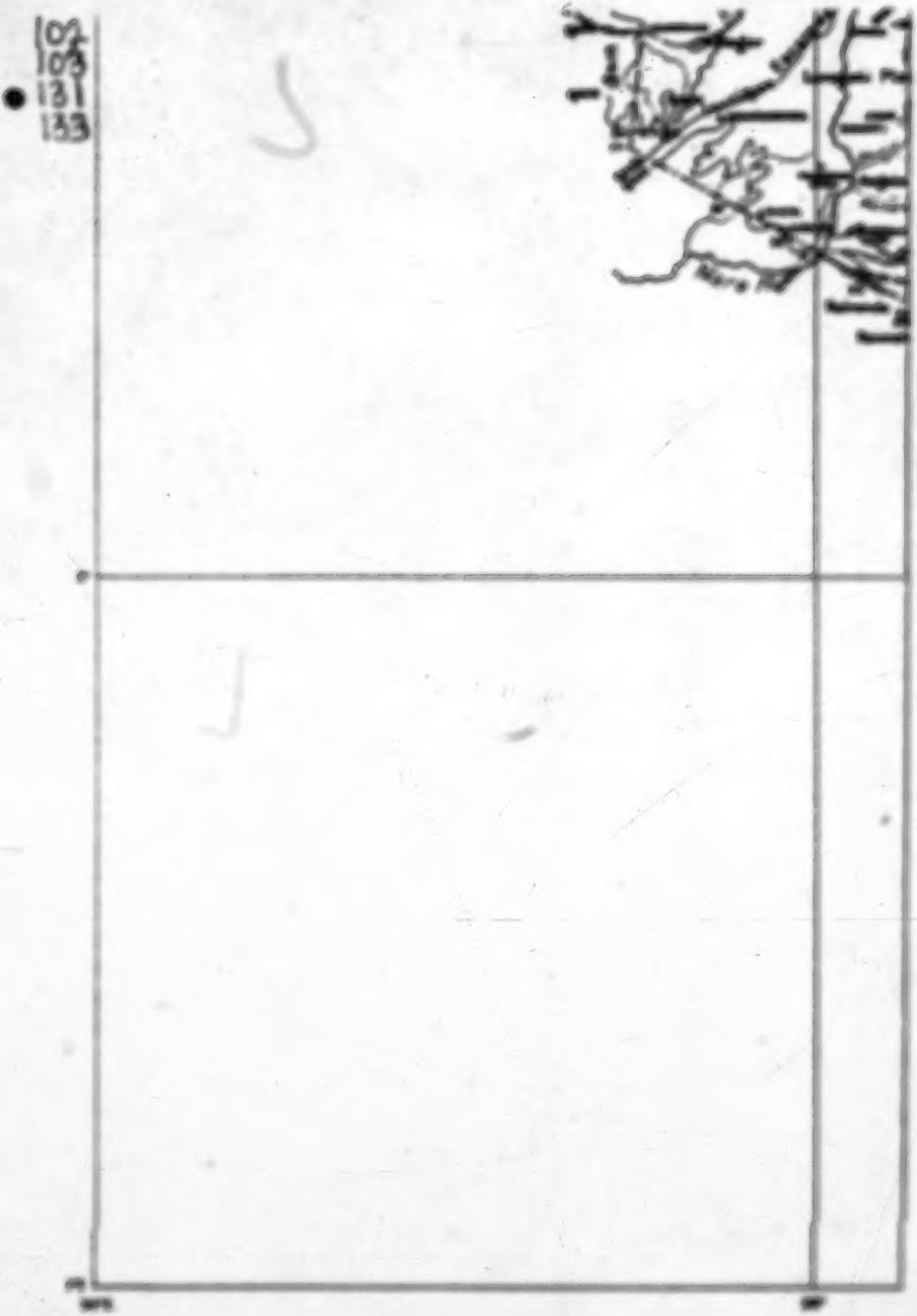
Scale, 1:1,000,000.

or 15 Miles = 1·014 Inches.

Scale of Miles

[Frontispiece-E]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12



[Frontispiece-F]

4: Sandford C-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece-G]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[Frontispiece-H]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

Smallwood G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Maasai FL12

[P. iii]
[P. iv is blank]

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE administration of the Masai tribe has always been one of the most interesting native problems of the East Africa Protectorate. The Masai occupy a reserve nine million acres in extent, which is at present fully stocked up; if water facilities were improved, not only could the number of cattle be very materially increased, but the reserve could also hold cattle of a better quality bred from imported stock. The potential value of the Masai Reserve as a home for cattle is enormous.

The lessons of the past may help us to solve the problems of the future. With this end in view, Sir Charles Bowring, when administering the Protectorate, instructed Mr. C. R. Smallwood to prepare a short History of the administration of the tribe up to date.

The result of Mr. Smallwood's researches is the very valuable compilation to which I am glad to be able to attach this foreword. The particulars have been drawn from official records, and the historical portion of the work may be accepted as an authentic summary of past events. Conditions as they existed in October, 1918, together with the steps that were being taken to deal with them, are accurately portrayed, while illustrative maps, compiled by Mr. Smallwood himself, are distributed where necessary throughout the text.

The volume forms a valuable addition to the records of the Protectorate.

EDWARD NORTHEY.

Government House, Nairobi,
August 31st, 1919.

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oiboni," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 270-280, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it must be mentioned that Mbatian, who died about 1890, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, on his death, of his son Sapuk, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify.

The persons employed by the pastoral Masai "Morans" to raids on surrounding tribes continued with their customary activity in following the pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually European governed the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by our agents down, had on the Masai. In 1906, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 90,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the raids which were attempting to move south had been thoroughly examined. 60,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 200,000 head were counted. By March 1914 all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 400,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimate of Mr. C. W. Hobley, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way to exact, but, after allowance have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,000 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the premium shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, both which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains unoccupied on that account, no attempt having been made to utilise veterinary skill and treatment in restoring their cattle thereto from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 40,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £100 per head. They are then, in all probability, the richest uncivilised tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their national diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

4: Sandford

102

103

● 131

133

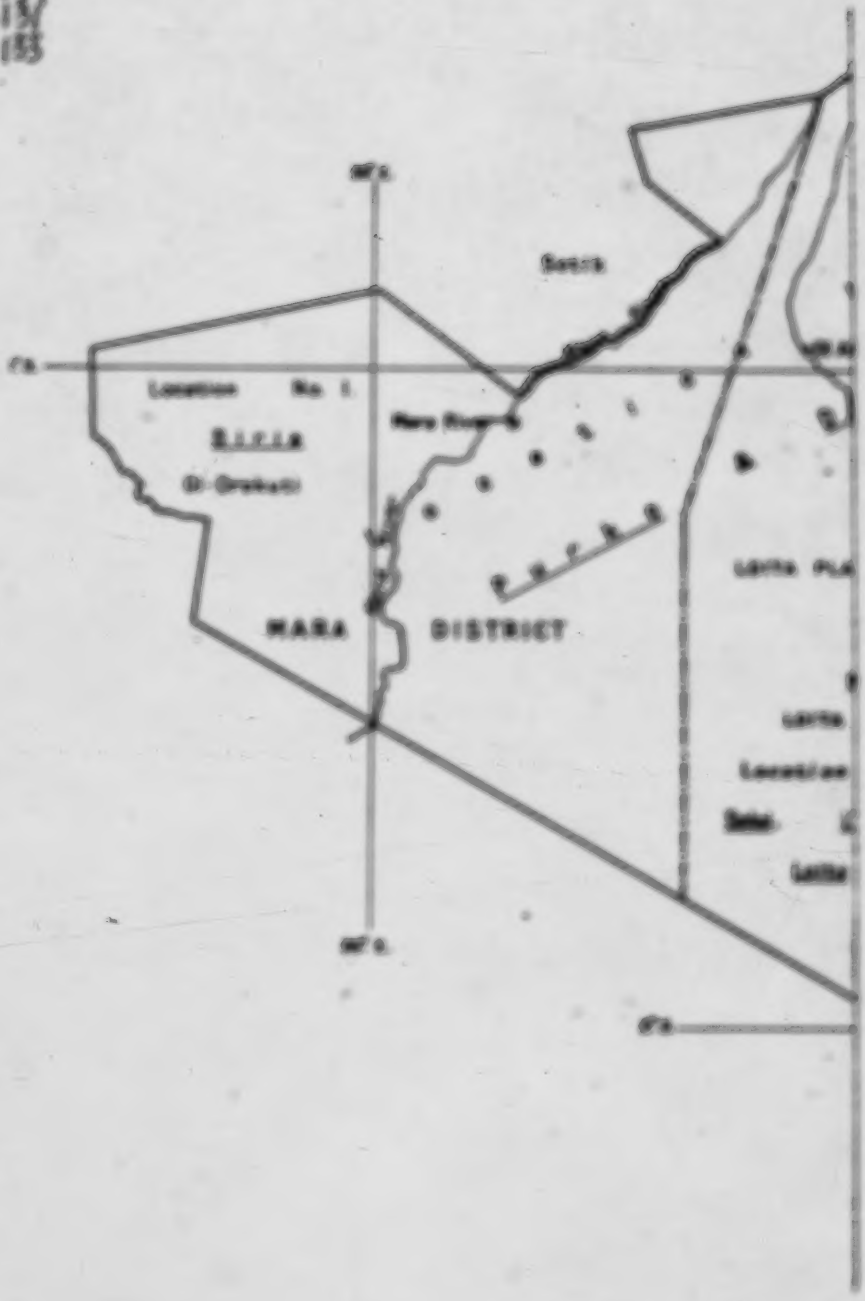
634

FL12 Masai FL12

P.6-A	P.6-B	P.6-C
	P.6-D	P.6-E

[Chart of positions of Map facing p. 6]

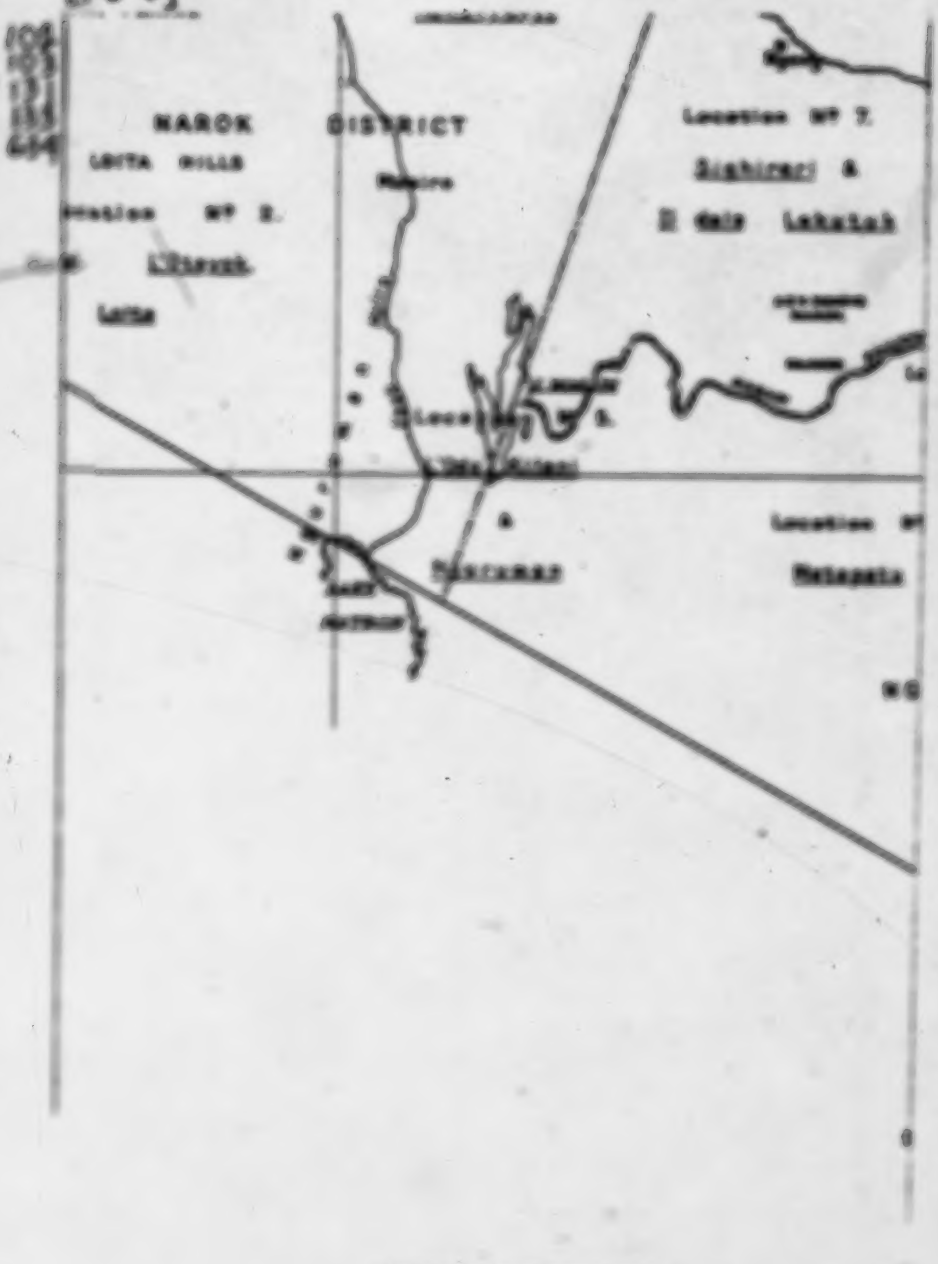
[D.4-A]

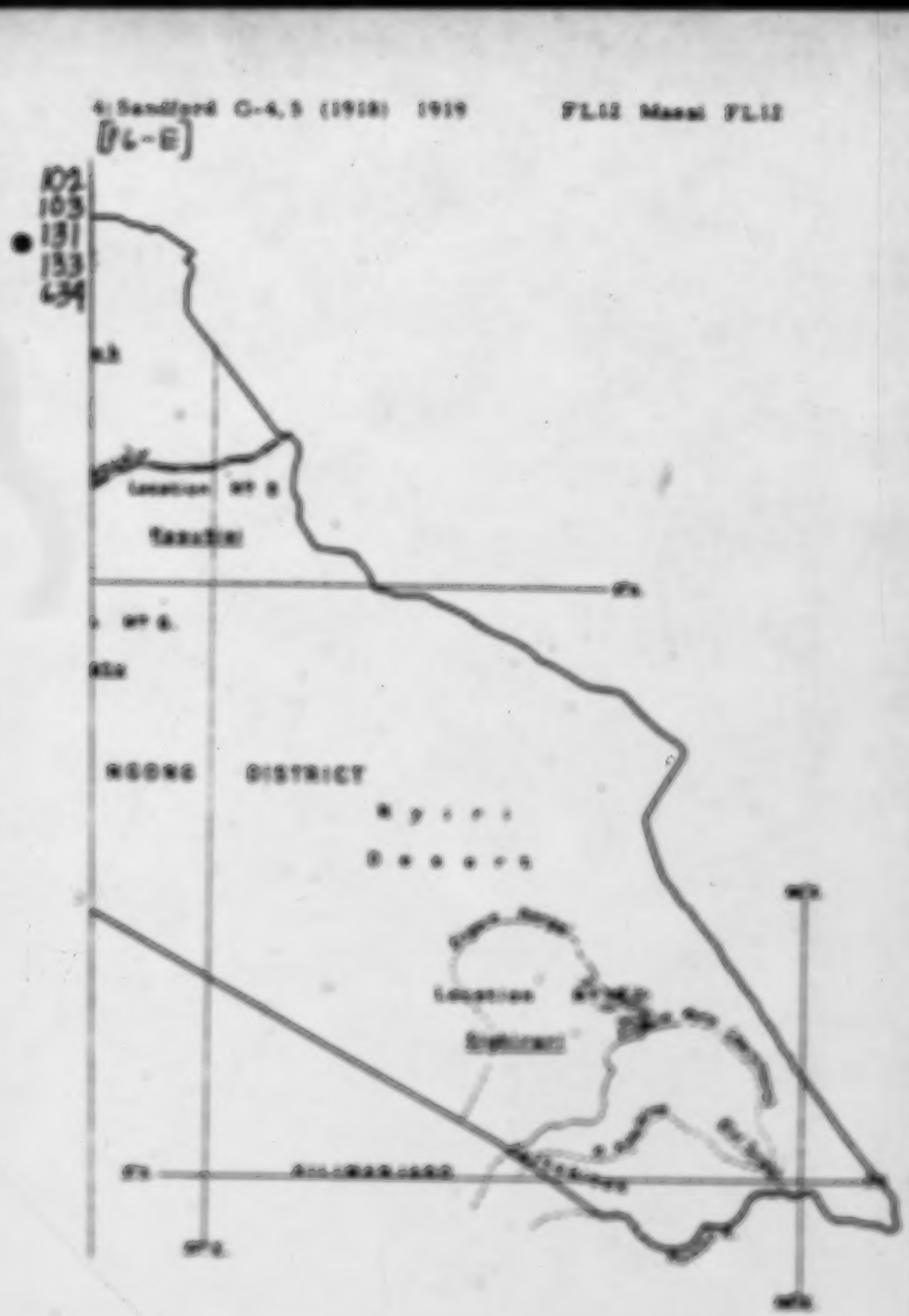


BARDA DISTRICT

Sketch showing the
DISTRICTS AND LOCATIONS
in the
MASAI RESERVE
Reserve Boundary
District Boundaries

[P 4-0]


NAROK DISTRICT
LOITA HILLS
Location No 2.
Location No 7.
Sighiraci &
Il dale Lekutuk
Location
Location
Mataputa


4 Sandford C-4, 5 (1918) 1919
FL12 Maori FL12
[FL-E]
102
103
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153
434
NGONG DISTRICT

[P 10-4]

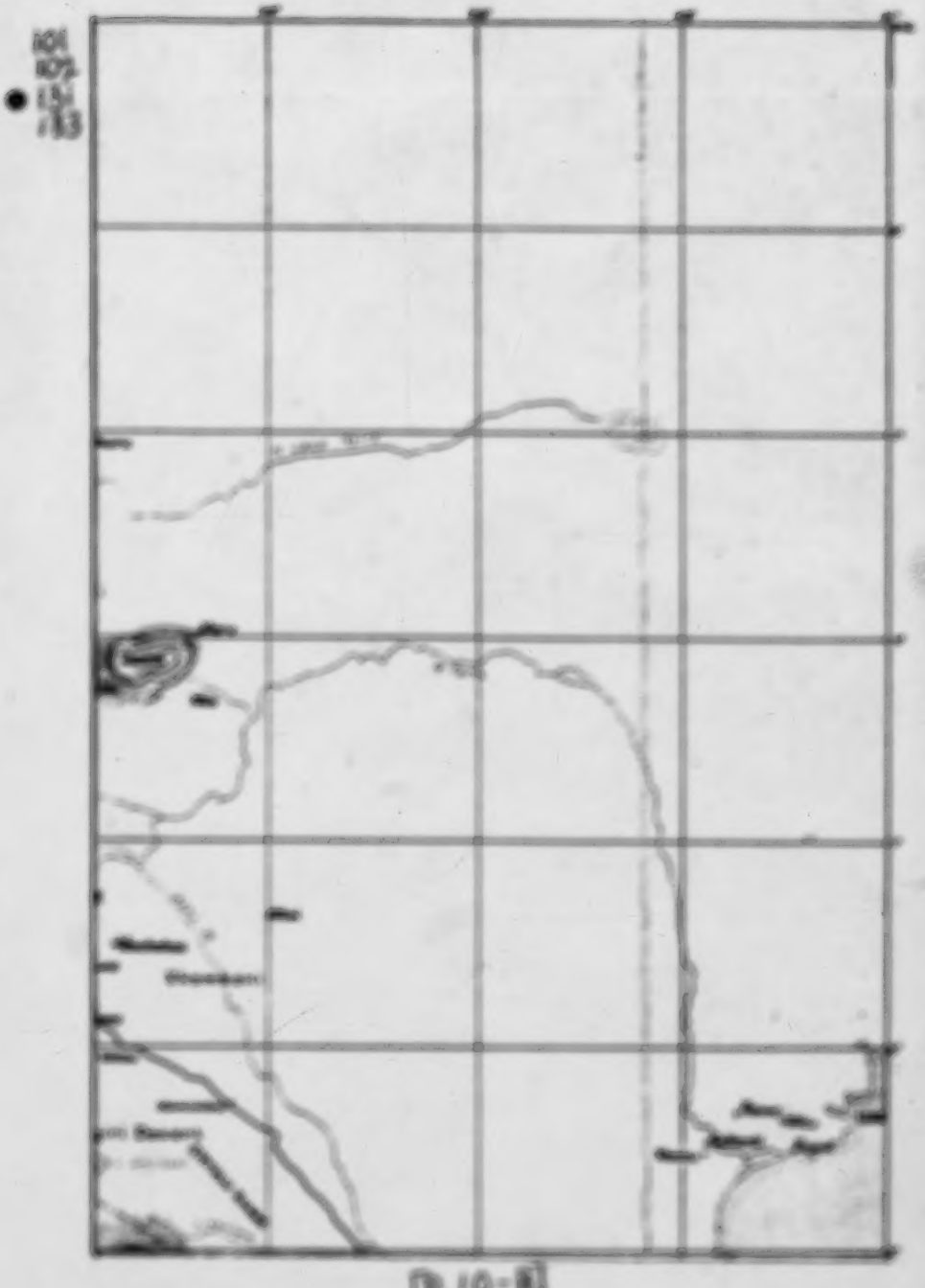


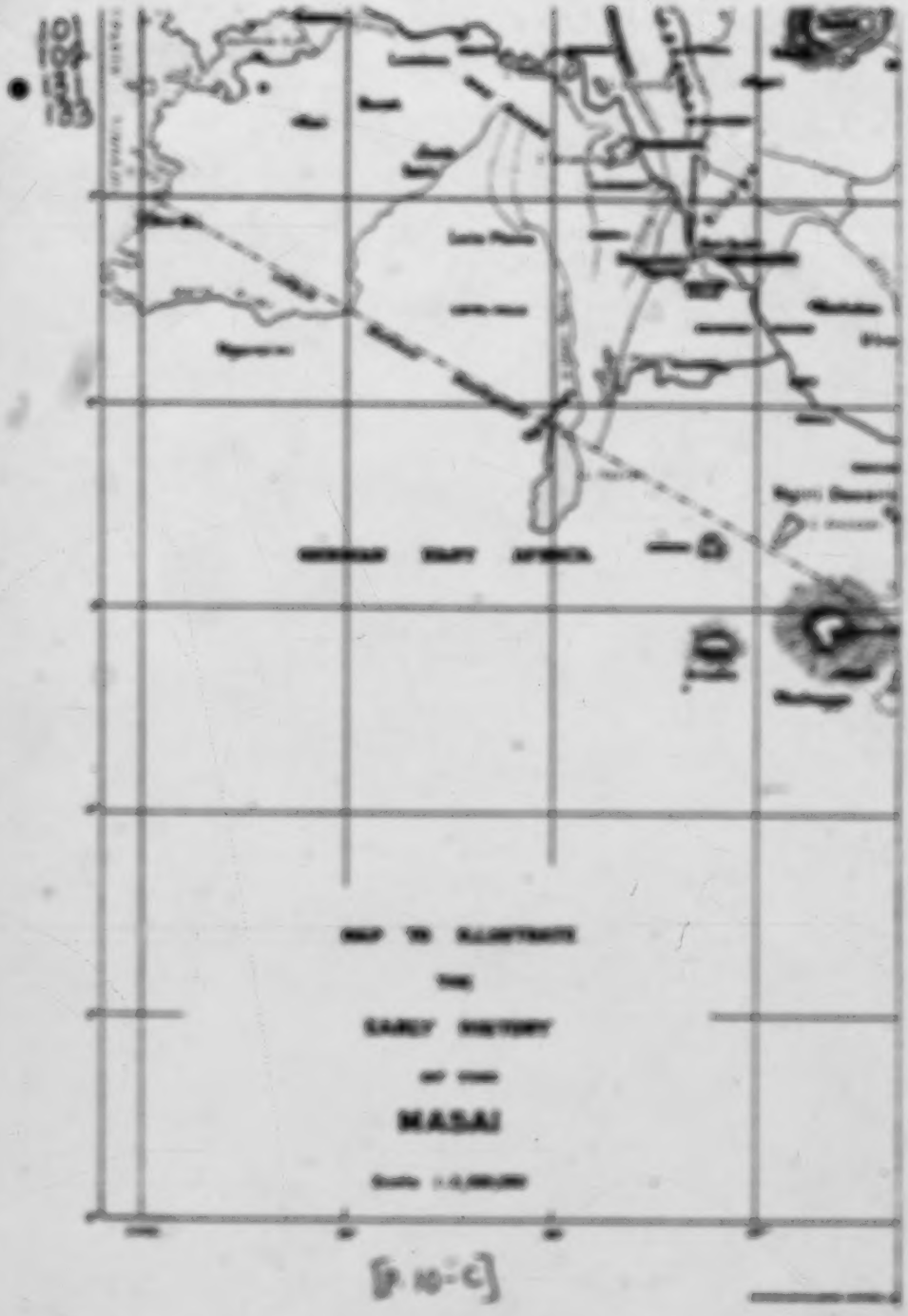
Fig. 10-8

4: Sandford
101
102
● 131
133

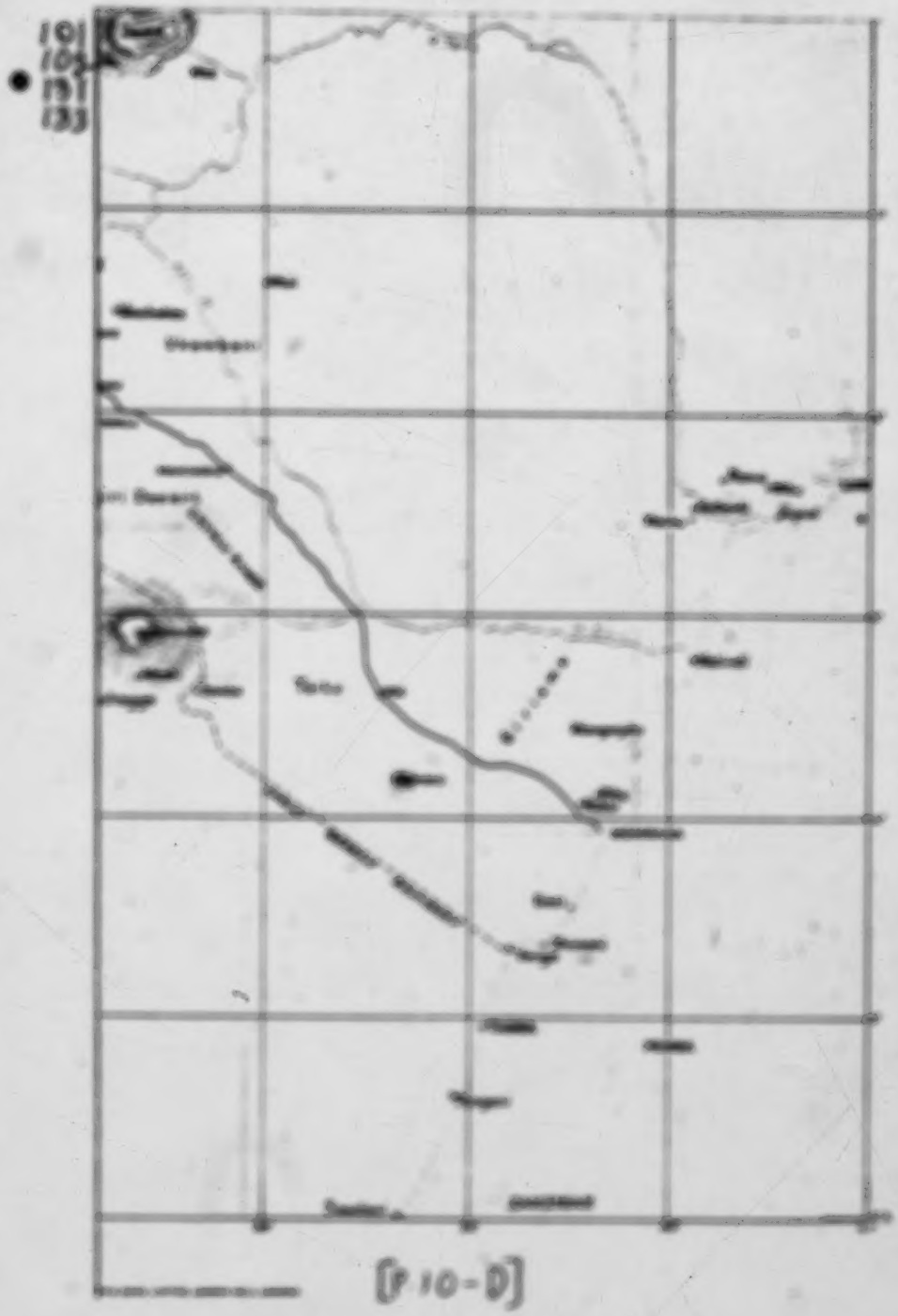
FL12 Massi FL12

P. 10-A	P. 10-B
P. 10-C	P. 10-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 10]



[p. 10-c]



[F 10-D]

Chapter VII.

HISTORY OF THE KAVIRONDO.

[illegible]

The Kavirondo are a Bantu race, as far as they change their residence frequently and without hesitation, and usually spend the cold months in the valleys and the hot months in the mountains. But their cattle, also, they are continually selling both privately and at grazing sales (see 141), sometimes considerable for a considerable period. A small number of Swahili, to which the Kavirondo would scarcely, did exist, but these villages were few and far between and frequently [illegible].

The absence of land hallmarkers and the perceived expansion of the Kavirondo led to the belief that a considerable portion of Kisii country was unoccupied. In particular was this the case in respect of the Kisii Valley, an area admirably suited to stock-rearing and European settlement. Applications for these areas which were not controversially occupied by the Kisii were accordingly made by Europeans, and the attention of the Government was drawn to the question of how far the country could, with safety and justice, be opened to white settlement, without thereby encroaching on the native grazing rights. As was natural, the land most sought after was that adjacent to the Railway Line, and the advisability of the policy of allowing Kisii residence near the Railway on land suitable for European use questioned. In any but their European settlers, to whom the Railway was a necessity, would not be content to see the Kisii, to whom it would be of no use whatever, excluding them from its vicinity.

Considerable discussion took place on this question and Sir Charles Eliot wrote a memorandum on the subject of Native Rights in the Kavirondo Province on the 7th of September, 1908 to the following effect:—

part of the tribe from the other was regarded with suspicion, it being suggested that the Government were adopting this policy in order that they might the more easily annihilate the tribe by allowing the epidemic such a hold. Further, almost immediately after the above commenced, it was found that the water supply there was totally inadequate for the requirements of the Mixed.

The Mixed, in fact, so neglected to carry out the terms of the agreement, as largely to destroy its meaning. Five animals, referred to as the Mbongo, Ombombi, Lobo, Ndeme and Lehindi, continued to move practically in Lehigha. A considerable portion, estimated at about one quarter, of the ten-thousand medium encamped in the Northern Reserve or in the undivided country between the Usoe Kyire and Ruwa Rivers. The Kakonyukwa (Ndombi) moved from the neighbourhood of Ruwaha to U Mchi and the southern slopes of the Mut. The Lobo continued to occupy the Lobo Hills and Plains. The Ndeme made use of the country watered by the Northern Usoe Kyire and the tributaries and the last named section continued to inhabit the region in the north of U-Ndemaljere.

Boundaries of the Lehigha portion of the Northern Mixed Reserve, 1921.

The boundaries of the Northern Mixed Reserve laid down by the Agreement of 1904 as follows:—

On the north, the Lungiki Mountains.

On the west, the Lehigha Escarpment.

On the south, the Lessoma or Kyire and the Usoe Rivers, and

On the east, the Kidima.

A short while before his death, Sir Donald Stewart, realising that the area so enclosed was inadequate, promised an extension of the original boundary, but he died before he had been able to place on record what had occurred at a conference held with the representatives of the Mixed and those settlers who had taken up land in the area proposed for the extension. The provisional boundaries agreed upon seem to have been:—

On the east of the Northern Range, the Usoe Kyire.

On the west of the Northern Range, the northern boundary was the Kyaiwa and the western boundary the west line of the Gashaga Sw-Ndeni and the Lehigha Escarpment.

Further extension of the Mixed.

This extension, however, was ineffective, and Sir James Hyde Sadler, in February, 1906, proposed a further enlargement, making the northern boundary of the reserve the northern boundaries of the Ruwa (Usoe Kyire) area land, the eastern boundary the Usoe Kyire, and the western boundary the west of the Gashaga Sw-Ndeni, as before. Several settlers, who were under the necessity of vacating their land, were compensated by additional grants elsewhere.

Northern Reserve a Native Area.

By a Proclamation, dated the 24th of May, 1906, the Northern Mixed Reserve, whose boundaries are therein defined, was declared a closed district.

The taking possession of the Northern Reserve.

On April 1, 1908, the Secretary of State signified his concurrence with these proposals. But the Northern Mixed were still discontented. They were, after the removal from the unsanitary and ground of the Ndi Valley, but remained enormously, and at least once every year had to break the boundaries of their reserve, both on the East and on the North, the grazing within the reserve allotted to them being insufficient. On the East they were permitted, every dry season, to cross the Usoe Kyire and pasture their herds and flocks between that river and the Usoe Nyanyaka, i.e., over an area of 800 square miles outside their reserve. On the North, they settled on the shores of Lake U Ndemaljere, and Sir James Hyde Sadler asked, on November 26, 1908, that three grazing grounds might be relinquished by the East Usoe Kyaiwa in exchange for land elsewhere, the lands so relinquished to be handed over to the Mixed. No agreement, however, was come to with the East Usoe Kyaiwa, and although this area was made over by the Mixed, it never actually formed part of their reserve.

In the year 1907 there was a partial failure of rains and the Masai were allowed to break their boundaries eastwards across the Uaso Nyiro, southwards towards Mount Kilimanjaro, and westwards towards Lake Naivasha. Their stock was estimated by Mr. Chalmers, the District Commissioner, Ravine, at 70,000 head of cattle, and 1,000,000 sheep and goats, and it was amply demonstrated that, for their large and increasing herds, the grazing to be found in the Northern Reserve would be totally inadequate in a period of severe drought. It was suggested that the time was opportune for relieving the Masai to part with their superfluous cattle, but proposals were also considered for the permanent and final extinction of their country. On September 23rd, 1908, the C. Uaso-Nyiro forwarded to the Colonial Office a recommendation made by Mr. Boggis that the 600 square miles east of the Uaso Nyiro should be definitely added to the reserve, but no permanent decision was made and the subject was dropped, when more detailed consideration was given to the possibility of moving all the Masai from the Northern Reserve.

When the move of the Northern Masai was started at the end of 1911, the Provincial Commissioner at Naivasha thought it would be advisable to bring a few Masai near the Government station, in order that Europeans of the Rift Valley might the more easily obtain the services of herdsmen and servants. These Masai, of the Kakonyokie division, were allowed to settle with their cattle on Government land. The rapid increase of the stock belonging to the Purko Masai, at Laikipia, caused an insufficiency of pasturage for the Kakonyokie Masai, who had moved south from the Rift Valley and Uaso Nyiro, therefore, gradually returned to pay their friends and relations near Naivasha. They took up their residence on all the unoccupied farms, squatted on the Soet Sirion Pyrethrum land, grazed over the whole of the Concession, and became a general nuisance. They were repeatedly warned by Mr. Boggis and others that they must leave Naivasha, but the move was not undertaken until 1913, when they went to the Lake Plains, to the west of the Masai Northern Reserve, afterwards called the extended Northern Reserve, taking with them some 10,000 head of cattle and 30,000 sheep and goats.

In addition to these Kakonyokie Masai, there lived in the Lake Plains about 2,000 Masai, with 30,000 cattle and half a million sheep and goats. Some of these were Naishu's (Loita) Masai, whilst others were Purko Masai, who, instead of moving to Laikipia in 1904, were found and occupied what was at the time an unoccupied region.

In the year 1910, various suggestions were made with a view to moving the Masai from the Northern Reserve to the area lying between the Uaso Nyiro and the Southern Uaso Nyiro. This country, like Laikipia, had formerly been occupied by various sections of the Masai, the Loita, Uasin and Dorobi, who had, for the most part, disappeared from the area. The suggestions to move the Masai were undoubtedly made in the interests of European settlers, some of whom had cast covetous eyes on the grazing grounds of Laikipia, as the Dorobi Reserve had proposed when advocating the Masai Agreement of 1904.

In the month of December, 1910, Mr. McClure and Captain Hamilton, the Assistant District Commissioners of Ngong and Kedia, after extensive tours through the Loita reserve, submitted reports in which it was stated that the area south of Kedia and between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River, comprised some 2,500 square miles, of which 1,000 square miles were waterless. The Masai population numbered approximately 6,000, with 30,000 cattle and 100,000 sheep. The land, as a whole, was unsuitable for European settlement, though several areas might be regarded as good farming land, but these were so disconnected, as to render impossible their proper supervision. Further, permanent streams were so far apart as to preclude the possibility of allotting each farm as a continuous centre. The land was generally suited to the requirements of a nomadic and pastoral tribe such as the Masai.

On the 6th of January, 1911, the Governor mentioned the proposal to Lenana, and ascertained to his surprise, found that the Laibon was entirely in favour of it, provided that the settlers left the suggested area, but he doubted whether the

[illegible]

Chapter IV.

BOUNDARIES OF THE MASAI RESERVE.

The Southern Masai Reserve in 1904—Ssamburu District—South Masai District—Southern Masai Reserve a Closed District—Boundaries of the Naivasha Province—The Extended Masai Reserve—Subsequent Extensions—From the Mbagathi to Mount Suswa—From Mount Suswa to Mr. Powys Cobb's land—From Mr. Powys Cobb's land to the Sotik Reserve—In the trans-Mara country—Proclamation of July 23rd, 1913—From the Mbagathi Stream to Mount Suswa—From Mount Suswa to Mr. Powys Cobb's land—The trans-Mara area—The South-Eastern Boundary—The most recent descriptions—The Rau Native Reserve.

The Southern Masai Reserve in 1904.

By the Agreement of 1904, which provided for the removal of the Masai tribes to definite reserves, "the Kapiti, Matapato, Ndogalani and Siganani sections" of the tribe agreed to "remove into the territory originally occupied by them, to the south of Donyo Lamuyu (Ngong) and the Kimarian Stream, and to comprise within the area the Donyo Lamuyu, Ndogalani and Matapato mountains and the Donyo Narok, and to extend to Nemian on the west.

"In addition, ... Lenana, as Chief Lybon, and his successors, to be allowed to occupy the land lying in between the Mbagathi and Kimarian streams, from Donyo Lamuyu to the point where both streams meet, with the exception of land already occupied by Mr. Oulton, Mr. McQueen and Mr. Paterson."

Ssamburu District.

On the 11th of February, 1908, a Proclamation was signed defining the boundaries of the Ssamburu District of the Ukamba Province, and declaring that that district should be divided into two, namely, the Kikuyu District and the South Masai District.

South Masai District.

The boundaries of the South Masai District were defined as follows:—

The South Masai District shall comprise all the land lying in between the Athi River and the Nairobi stream to a point on the latter, where the Masari enters the Nairobi, and then all land lying to the east and south-east of the Masari, and the line drawn from the point on the same stream opposite the Homestead Farm, to the place where the Fort Smith Road crosses the railway line, thence all land east of the line drawn from the railway crossing to the junction of the Dagoretti Road with the Ngongo Road, thence in a line along the Dagoretti Road to a point east of Kimanjui's village, all land east and south-east of a line from the point near Kimanjui's village to the Mbagathi. All land south of the Mbagathi stream, including Donyo Lamuyu (Ngongo) and to the south as far as the Anglo-German boundary. The boundaries between the Masai District and the Ulu District shall be an imaginary line drawn one mile parallel south and west of the railway line from the Athi River Station to Simba, and then in a direct line to the German frontier, following the Simba River as far as possible.

The Kedong Valley, from the edge of the Kikuyu escarpment and railway line to the boundary of the Naivasha Province, shall be in the South Masai District.

(N.B.—Loitokitok and Tsavo Swamp are included in the Teita District. Lake Magadi is in the South Masai District.)

Headquarters South Masai District.

The headquarters of the South Masai District shall be for the present Nairobi.

Southern Masai Reserve a Closed District.

On the 18th of June, 1908, a Proclamation was issued declaring the Southern Masai Reserve to be a closed district under the Outlying Districts Ordinance, and the boundaries were defined as follows:—

4: Sandford

FL12 Masai FL12

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P. 38-A	P. 38-B
P. 38-C	P. 38-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 38]

[D 36-A]

[P. 15-B]

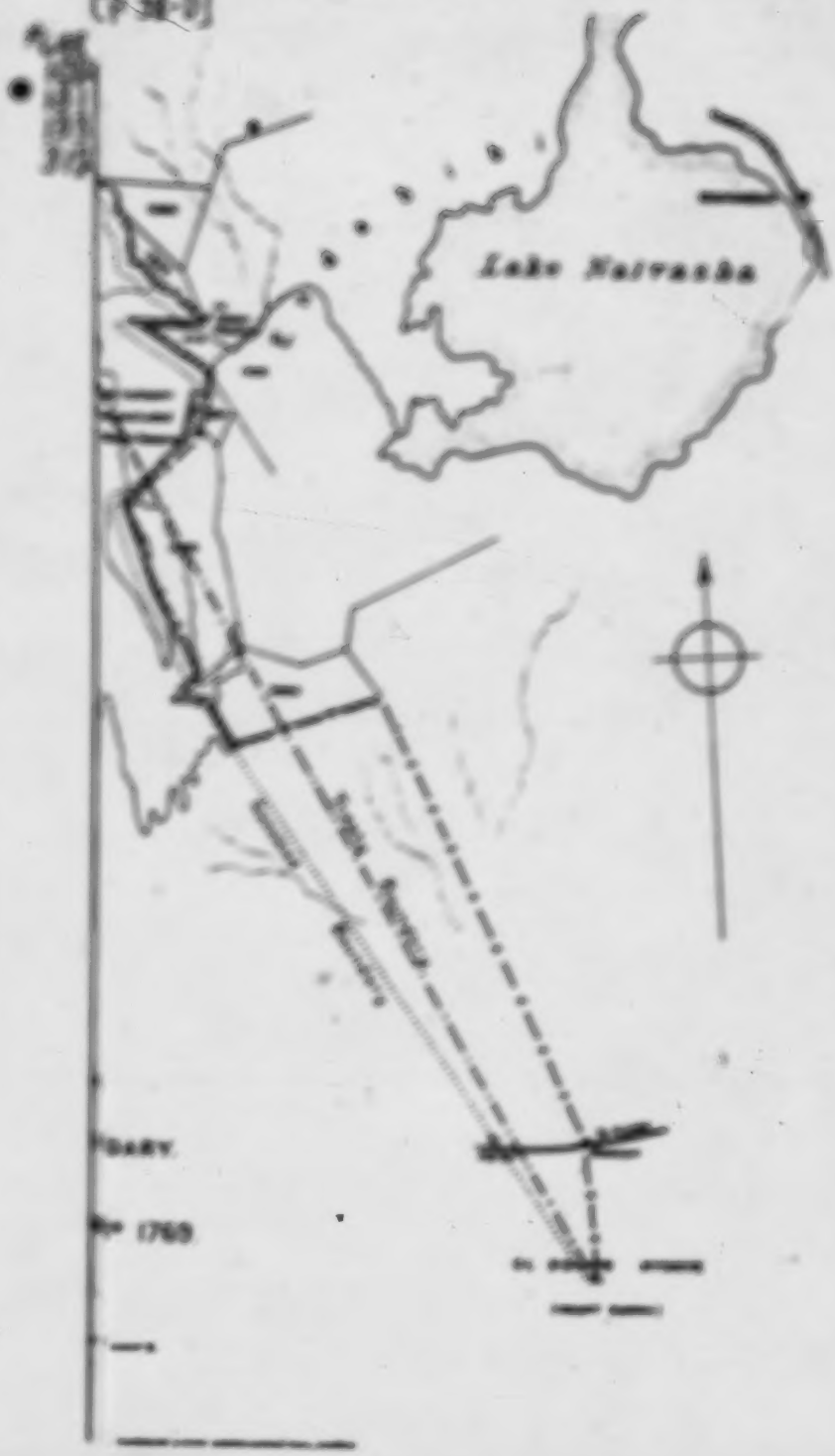
Sketch showing the

MASAI RESERVE BOUNDARY

From

MOUNT SUSWA TO FARM Nº 1765

Scale: 4 miles to 1 inch.


Lake Nipissing

On the north this reserve is bounded by the Mbagathi stream and by the Athi River to a point on the latter where the railway crosses the river.

The eastern boundary is a line due south from the Athi River railway bridge to the Anglo-German boundary, shown B.M. along the Anglo-German boundary to the point where it is intersected by the Umani Kyiru River, thence approximately south along the Umani Kyiru to a point shown on the map as Ndaka, thence in a S.S.E. direction to the peak of Kilungu Kyulu (Plumtree), thence in a southerly direction to a point where the Mbagathi River rises.

Description of boundaries.

In the description of the boundaries of Township Provinces, published in the "Official Gazette" of the 1st of January, 1913, the eastern boundary of the Province was stated to be "... the Ngare Dongai River, where it is junction with the Tsavo River, thence by a line southerly to the most southerly point of the Chyulu (or Kyulu) Range, thence by the Chyulu Range to its most southerly point, thence by a straight line south-westerly to Kimaiti Hill, thence by a line direct to the southerly one-mile zone of the Uganda Railway, thence by the one-mile zone north-westerly to its intersection by portion No. 1219, thence by its southerly boundary north-westerly to the south-east corner, thence by the easterly boundary north-easterly to the Athi River, thence by the Athi River up stream to its junction with the Mbagathi River, thence by the Mbagathi River up stream to the easterly corner of farm No. 1184, thence by the southerly and westerly boundaries of farms Nos. 1184, 186, 182 and 187 to the westerly corner of farm No. 181, thence by a line south-westerly to a beacon near the forest edge, thence by a traverse line in the direction of Mount Kenya (13 Degrees Magnetic)."

The Kikuyu Land Boundary.

In the Agreement of 1911 the extended Masai Reserve was defined as being approximately bounded as follows:—

"On the south by the Anglo-German frontier.

"On the west by the Elgeyo-Kerio Range, by the Arabia River, otherwise called Kapsowen-Kabonde or Kapsowen-a-ngosi, by the eastern and northern boundaries of the Nandi Native Reserve, and by a line drawn from the most northerly point of the northern boundary of the Nandi Native Reserve to the south-western boundary of the land set aside for Mr. E. Powys Cobb en Bloc.

"On the south by the southern and eastern boundaries of the said land set aside for Mr. E. Powys Cobb, and by a straight line drawn from the north-eastern boundary of the said land to the highest point of Mount Kenya, otherwise called Ol Donyo Gegaiyie.

"On the east by the Northern Masai Reserve, as defined in the Proclamation dated June 10th, 1909, and published in the "Official Gazette" of July 1st, 1909."

Extension of Masai Native Reserve.

In signing this Agreement, Sir Percy Girouard further extended the existing Masai Native Reserve by an addition of an area of approximately three thousand and one hundred square miles, the approximate boundaries being, on the south the Anglo-German frontier, on the west the eastern boundary of the Northern Masai Reserve, on the north and east by the Uganda Railway area, from the Athi River to Sultan Hamud Railway Station, thence in a line drawn from the said station to the north-west point of the Chyulu Range, thence along the Chyulu Range to the south-eastern extremity thereof, thence by a straight line to the meeting point of the Ngare Dongai and the Tsavo Rivers, thence by the Ngare Dongai River to the Anglo-German frontier."

The proclamation giving the boundaries of this Reserve in full was published until July, 1913, and before that date, negotiations had been made on the spot in regard to the physical boundary at certain parts.

Line to Mount Kenya.

In May, 1913, Mr. Hobley had visited the source of the Mbagathi River, of which there were two, the northern rising near the boundary of farm No. 943 (Perkins, now No. 184) and the southern rising to the west of Kijong station. The

[illegible] Kikuyu village was observed near the northern source. With a view to demarcating the boundary he ran a line from the source of Luia Spit (Luia No. 147) to the point where the main road from Fortrudo to Tigona emerged from the forest. He erected a beacon at this point, which was on the north side of the head of the valley marking the source of the Mbagathi. Thence he marked out a line downhill on Mount Kenya as far as the top of the escarpment overlooking the Kuthaya Valley, a distance of some two miles. It was subsequently found that the continuation of this line over the Kuthaya Valley towards Mount Kenya passed over the northern part of the undemarcated farm in that valley. Mr. Dudley was not accompanied on this journey by any officer of the Mount Kenya.

Area shown on Map No. 1 and Mr. Dudley's Sketch Plan.

The straight line from the summit of Mount Kenya to the north-eastern corner of Mr. Percy Cobb's land was found to cross the boundaries of certain farms which had already been allotted to Europeans on the south-west side of Nairobi Lake. The western boundaries of these farms were therefore chosen as for the boundary and a corresponding area to the north was included in the Reserve.

Area to be excluded from and to be included in Reserve.

A slight alteration, beneficial to the Kikuyu, was made by including the northern corner of farm No. 106 among the delimiting points.

Mr. Hodgson's Report.

In July, 1930, while the Mount Kenya was in progress, it became necessary to prohibit a Proclamation defining the boundaries of the reserve in order that certain rights might be applied to control the Masai. That part of the boundary adjacent to the Kikuyu country had not been the subject of investigation by the officers concerned and a boundary which appeared suitable on paper on a map was inserted in the Proclamation, it being understood that such boundaries were provisional only.

Publication of Proclamation.

In the Proclamation dated the 23rd of July, 1930, the following Schedule was published defining the boundaries of the Mount Kenya:—

Schedule.

Commencing at the summit of Oi Dokyo Ongoka (Mt. Kenya) the boundary follows a straight line north-westerly to the most southerly corner of farm No. 1,845, thence along the generally westerly boundaries of farms Nos. 1,845, 1,861, 468, 464, 461 (minor reserve), 459 and 1,860 to the north-west corner of the latter;

Thence in a straight line north-westerly to the north-easterly corner of farm No. 1,859;

Thence along the eastern and southern boundaries of that farm to its most westerly corner;

Thence in a straight line westerly to the southern corner of farm No. 848;

Thence in a straight line westerly to the north-west corner of the Kabi Native Reserve;

Thence along the generally western boundary of the Kabi Native Reserve;

Thence down the Amala River (Eng-are Dokwik) to a point due west of the summit of Kipkiben;

Thence in a straight line due west to the Mogor River;

Thence up this river to its source to the south of Gologolo Hill;

Thence in a straight line to the summit of Gologolo Hill;

Thence westerly in a straight line for about 30 miles to the summit of Mogonji Hill;

Thence in a straight line due west to the Gwasta River;

Thence down this river to its junction with the Kaja River;

Thence southerly in a straight line for about 30 miles to the junction of the Guri and Nadaret Rivers;

Thence up the Guri River to its junction with the Kamasi River;

Thence south-easterly in a straight line to Lorda Nanow (No. 10 on the Anglo-German Boundary);

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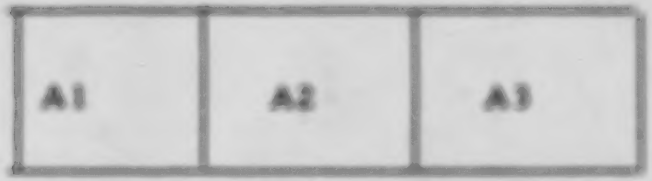

[Chart of positions of first map following p. 40]

MASAI RESERVE

Sketch showing the
Masai Reserve Boundary
from
Athi River to Mount Suswa.

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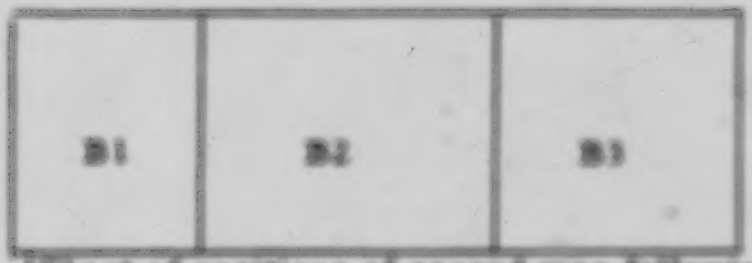
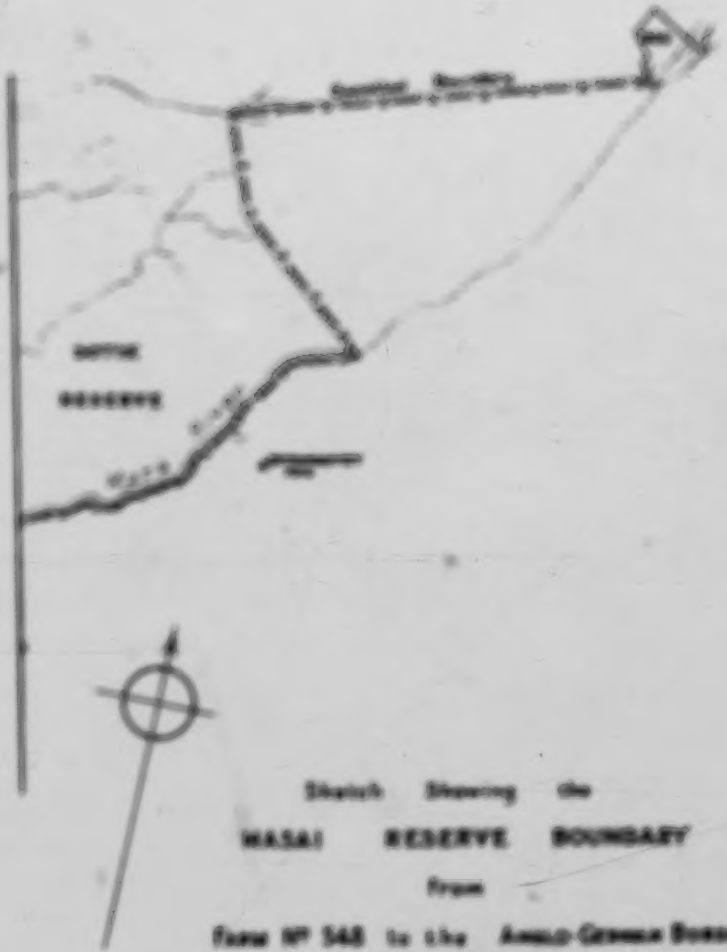


/Chart of positions of second map following p. 40/

[F 40-B2]

[F 40-8]



Sketch Showing the

MASAI RESERVE BOUNDARY

from

Farm Nº 548 to the Anglo-German Border

Scale: [illegible]

Approved Boundary ——.——.——

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Thence south-easterly along the Anglo-German Boundary to its intersection with the Kikaleiwa River (on the slopes of Kilimanjaro);

Thence down the Kikaleiwa River to its junction with the Tsavo River;

Thence in a straight line northerly to the most southerly peak of the Chyulu (Kyulu) Range;

Thence along the summits of the Chyulu Range to its most northerly peak;

Thence in a straight line north-westerly to the summit of Kmali Hill;

Thence in a straight line to the nearest point of the southerly mile-zone of the Uganda Railway;

Thence by this mile-zone north-westerly to its intersection by portion No. 1,219;

Thence by the southerly boundary of this portion north-westerly to its south-west corner;

Thence by its westerly boundary to the Kitangela River;

Thence by the Kitangela River down stream to its intersection by portion No. 337 (Athi Township) Reserve;

Thence by the westerly boundary of this portion to its intersection by the Athi River;

Thence up this river to the easterly corner of farm No. 1,124;

Thence by the southerly and westerly boundaries of farms Nos. 1,124, 193, 196 and 197 to the westerly corner of the latter;

Thence in a straight line south-westerly to a beacon near the forest edge;

Thence along a beaconed line in the direction of Ol Doinyo Onyokie to a beacon overlooking the Kedong Valley;

Thence in a straight line to the south-easterly corner of farm No. 369;

Thence in a straight line to the southern corner of farm No. 369;

Thence in a straight line to the summit of Ol Doinyo Onyokie, the point of commencement.

There shall be excluded from the above area all land extending for a distance of a quarter of a mile on either side of the Magadi Railway Line, also Lake Magadi, and all land within a quarter of a mile of the said lake.

The boundary thus defined has not yet been altered by publication in the "Official Gazette," but amendments have been made in certain parts and a revised schedule has been drawn up giving what is proposed and what is in fact taken to be the boundary of the reserve.

From the Mbagathi River to Mount Hobley.

In April, 1912, it was made apparent that the boundary demarcated by Mr. Hobley near the upper waters of the Mbagathi had the effect of cutting off the Masai from access to the water supply in that stream. This disability was accentuated by the erection of a fence by the Kikuyu under the direction of the Assistant District Commissioner at Dagoretti round the source of the stream on the supposition that it was "Kikuyu water," which fence was responsible for the creation of ill-feeling between the Masai and the Kikuyu. In deference to representations from the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, the Provincial Commissioner, Nairobi, agreed to move the fence back to the forest, but it appears that this was not done at the time, and the District Commissioner, Ngong, who examined the area in February, 1913, found the fence in its original position with a gap of one hundred yards, enabling the Masai cattle to pass through. Mr. Hamilton pointed out that the treaties of 1904 and 1911 had made provision for the inclusion in the Masai Reserve of the land between the Mbagathi and the Kiserian Rivers, while the Provincial boundary gazetted on the 1st of January, 1911, had given a different boundary in this part, which boundary had again been demarcated in the description of July 23rd, 1912. But these latter descriptions had made reference to the beacon erected by Mr. Hobley near the forest edge and the inclusion of this beacon as a point on the boundary excluded from the reserve in one case the greater part and in the other case the whole of the Mbagathi Stream.

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[facing p. 42]

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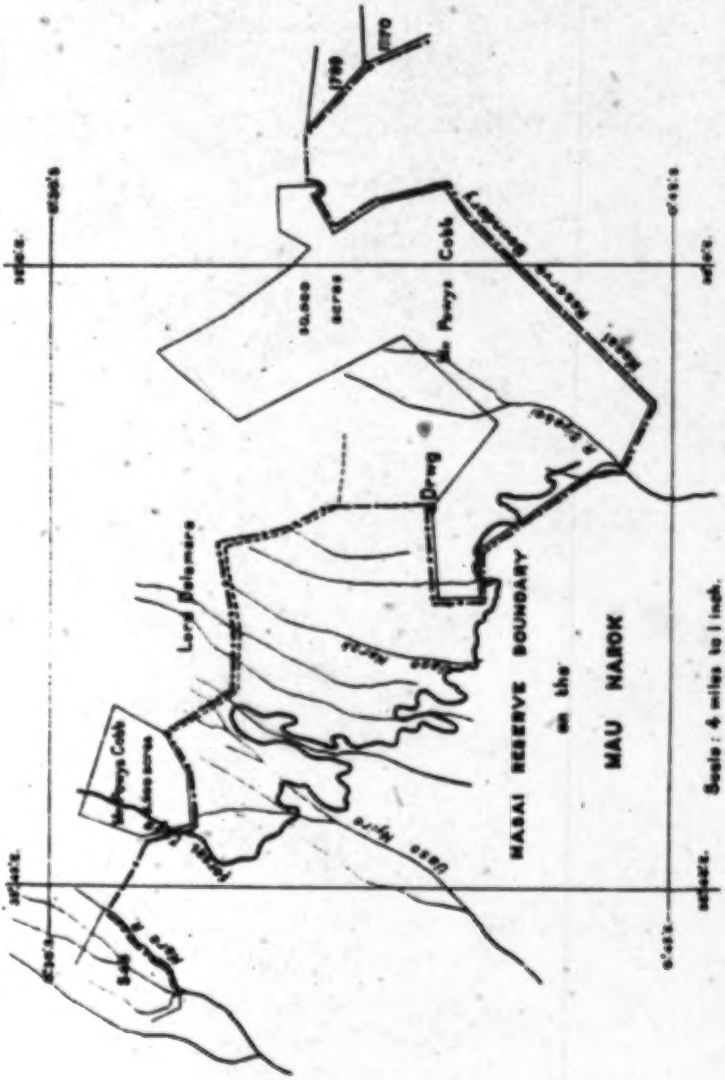

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Historical data of the localities occupied by the Masai showed that an equitable continuation of the boundary from the source of the Mbagathi was in a direction approximately due west, while the fence that had been erected in fact ran due south. In order to come to a final settlement of the matter, officers representing both sides were instructed to make investigation on the spot. As a result of this inspection the Governor decided that the boundary as fenced must be altered to conform with that described in the treaties.

From Mount Suswa to Mr. Powys Cobb's land.

Certain amendments to the boundary between Mount Suswa and Mr. Powys Cobb's land were necessitated in order to bring the Masai Reserve boundary up to the line of the surveyed farms.

Mr. Powys Cobb's land.

No definition has as yet been finally arrived at of the boundary of the Masai Reserve with Mr. Powys Cobb's land as far as the south-eastern corner of farm No. 548.

The Trans-Mara Area.

In February, 1913, Mr. Hemsted, accompanied by the District Commissioner, Kisii, examined the trans-Mara area with a view to the more accurate delimitation between the Masai Reserve boundary and the South Kavirondo district. The boundary suggested by these two officers was acceptable to the Provincial Commissioners concerned and was approved by Sir Henry Belfield on the completion of his tour in the reserve. It was, however, decided to postpone the gazetting of this boundary until after the conclusion of the "Masai Case."

The South-Eastern Boundary.

In August, 1914, the District Commissioner, Ngong, suggested the addition to the Masai Reserve of the country between the Kikalelwa and Rombo rivers, formerly included in the Taveta sub-district of the Seyidie Province. This would provide compensation for the area alienated from the reserve by the Magadi Railway zone and the Soda Company's settlement at Kajiado. It would also cause the Masai Reserve and the Southern Game Reserve boundaries to be conterminious on the south-east; the suggested boundary was already demarcated by beacons, and was much more definite and visible than the Kikalelwa River. This additional area provided for the needs of the Laitokitok Masai who had, in fact, used it for grazing their herds for some time. This proposed extension was recommended also by the Provincial Commissioner, Seyidie.

The most recent description.

The most recent description of the Masai Reserve boundary was written in March, 1915. This has been approved, but has not yet been gazetted, owing to the difficulty of obtaining the services of a surveyor to demarcate it. The description reads as follows:—

"Commencing at the summit of Ol Doinyo O'Nyukye, thence in a straight line in a northerly direction to a beacon on the Kijabe cart road, thence in a straight line to the most easterly corner of farm No. 2662, thence following its southerly boundary to the south-western boundary of farm No. 1380, thence along the generally western boundaries of farms Nos. 1380, 1381, 409, 410, 411 (water reserve), 413 and 1382, to the north-western corner of the latter, thence in a north-west direction to the southern corner of farm No. 1771, thence by the western boundaries of farms Nos. 1771, 1770 and 1769 to the north-west corner of the latter, thence *by a boundary to be defined hereafter*, to the north-eastern corner of farm No. 548, thence following the eastern boundary of that farm to its most southerly corner, thence in a straight line westerly to the north-eastern corner of the Sotik Native Reserve, thence along the general eastern boundary of the Sotik Native Reserve to the junction of the Amala (Engare Ol Kunono) and Nyangoria rivers, thence in a straight line to the summit of Gelegele Hill, thence in a straight line in a west south-western direction for about 31 miles to a point marked by a beacon on the Engare Rongai river, about five miles south of Rabour Hill, thence in a southerly direction to the Mogor (Gori) River, thence up that river for about 13 miles to a beacon on the south bank, thence in a southerly direction to beacon No. 17 on the Anglo-German border, thence in a south-easterly direction along the border to beacon No. 56, thence in an easterly direction along a line of beacons to the source of the Rombo (Useri) River, thence down this river to the Game Reserve beacon, where the Ngulia and Chyulu Hills (Il Doinyo Loo'l

Munyenye) approach the river, thence in a northerly direction along the summits of the Chyulu Range, thence in a straight line to the nearest point of the southerly mile zone of the Uganda Railway, thence by this mile-zone north-westerly to its intersection by portion No. 1219, thence by the southerly boundary of this portion north-westerly to its south-west corner, thence by its westerly boundary to the Kitangela River, thence by the Kitangela River down stream to its intersection by portion No. 337 (Athi Township Reserve), thence by the westerly boundary of this portion to its intersection by the Athi River, thence up this river to the easterly corner of farm No. 1124, thence by the southerly and westerly boundaries of farms Nos. 1124, 193, 192, 196 and 197, to the westerly corner of the latter, thence along the western boundary of farm No. 197 northerly to its intersection by the main stream of the Mbagathi River, thence up stream to its source, thence in a straight line to the south-east corner of farm No. 369, thence following its boundary southerly to the southern corner, thence in a straight line to the summit of Ol Doinyo O'Nyukye, the point of commencement."

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Mau Narok.

In 1917 two areas of 30,000 acres and 5,000 acres respectively were surveyed for Mr. Powys Cobb on the Mau Narok, and the Officer in Charge suggested the following boundary, in consultation with the Land Officer, as completing the definition of the Masai Reserve boundary in this part:—

From the north-west corner of farm No. 1769 in a westerly direction to Mr. Powys Cobb's 30,000 acre farm, thence by the eastern, southern and western boundaries of that farm to the Beacon Drwg, thence in a northerly direction to the south-east corner of Lord Delamere's Mau farm, thence following the southern boundaries of that farm to the north-east corner of Mr. Powys Cobb's 5,000 acre farm, thence following the eastern and southern boundaries of that farm to the south-west corner, thence in a straight line to the north-east corner of farm No. 848.

Chapter V.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE MASAI RESERVE.

Historical divisions—Administrative divisions—Geographical divisions—General description of the Reserve—Mountains—Rivers—Lakes—The Rift Valley—Eastern portion—The central portion—The western portion.

Historical divisions.

The present Masai Reserve, of which the boundaries have been defined in the preceding chapter, may be divided historically into four sections. The original Southern Masai Reserve has been in Masai occupation from before the time of European administration: the Extended Southern Masai Reserve, that is, roughly the country between the Uaso Nyiro and the Mara River formed the basis of the Agreement of 1911: the trans-Mara or Ol-Orokuti area was added subsequent to the Agreement, not being included within the terms of that treaty, and the eastern portion of the reserve, from the Ngong Hills to Kilimanjoro was added to the Masai territory by Sir Percy Girouard in signing the Agreement of 1911.

Administrative divisions.

For administrative purposes, the reserve is divided into three districts, the boundaries of which, together with the reasons for this partition, are described in Chapter V., Section I.

Geographical divisions.

For a geographical description of the reserve, three divisions may be taken, the Mara River and the Uaso Nyiro being the dividing lines between these sections.

General description of the Reserve.

The Masai Reserve extends approximately from 340° 37′ east longitude to 38° 15′ east longitude, and from 0° 34′ south latitude to 3° 10′ south latitude. It is 288 miles long and 94 miles broad, and contains an area of some 14,600 square miles, or over nine million acres.

The Anglo-German border which, throughout 236 miles of its length forms the southern boundary of the Masai Reserve in British East Africa, divides the localities inhabited by the Masai tribe into two portions of which the larger is in British territory, and does not itself conform to any tribal or social division of the Masai tribe.

Mountains.

The highest point of the reserve is to be found at its northern extremity where the boundary crosses the Mau Range. In that part of the reserve adjoining Mr. Powys Cobb's land, an altitude of 10,000 feet is reached. Little of the rest of the reserve is more than 8,000 feet in height, the most considerable mountains or groups being in the eastern portion, Ol Doinyo Orok, 8,374 feet, an isolated mass, forty miles in circumference, which rises more than 4,000 feet above the surrounding plain, and is situated on the southern borders of the reserve; the Ngong Hills, sixteen miles south-west of Nairobi, which attain an altitude of 8,074 feet: and Ol Doinyo Nyukye, 7,731 feet, a conspicuous extinct volcano, situated to the west of the Kedong Valley: in the central portion, the upper slopes of the Mau Range: the group of rugged mountains, known as the Loita Hills, whose highest point is at an altitude of 8,950 feet: and the mountainous region along which passes the Anglo-German boundary: and in the trans-Mara area, the Isuria Escarpment, and Mount Gelegele, on the borders of the Kisii country. In the south-east of the reserve, the boundary crosses the foothills of Kilimanjaro, but does not ascend that mountain to a height greater than 7,000 feet above sea level.

Rivers.

The only two considerable rivers in the reserve are the Uaso Nyiro, with its tributaries, and the Mara River. The Uaso Nyiro divides the reserve into two parts, running in a southerly direction in the neighbourhood of the 36th degree of east longitude. This river, rising in the Mau Range, and flowing into Lake Natron falls some 8,000 feet in 140 miles, and is fed in the first part of its course

P. 74-A	P. 74-B	P. 74-C	P. 74-D
P. 74-E	P. 74-F	P. 74-G	P. 74-H
P. 74-I	P. 74-J	P. 74-K	P. 74-L

/Chart of positions of map facing p. 74/

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 74A]

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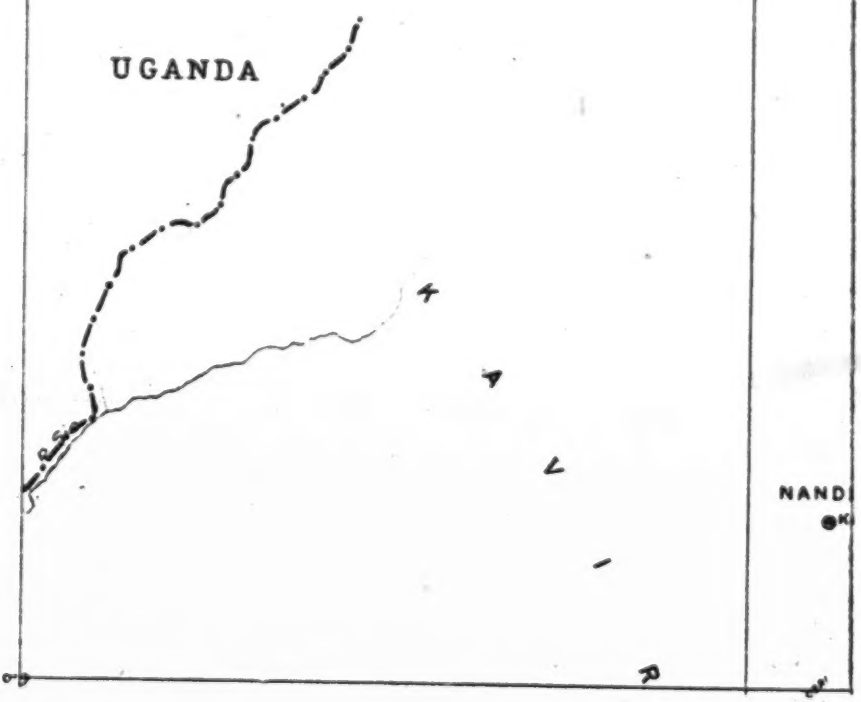
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE MASAI MOVES

Scale 1 : 1,000,000



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
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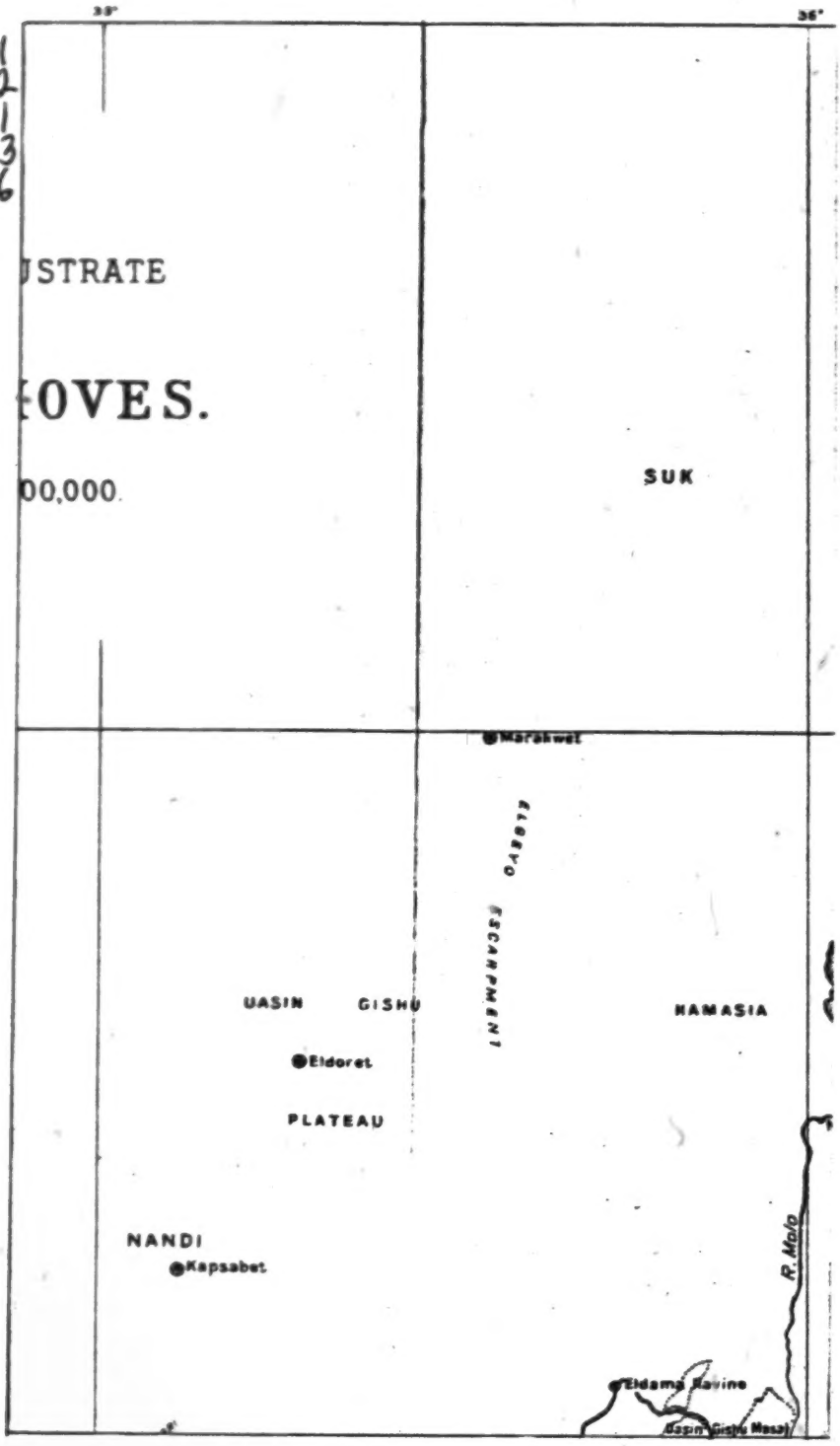

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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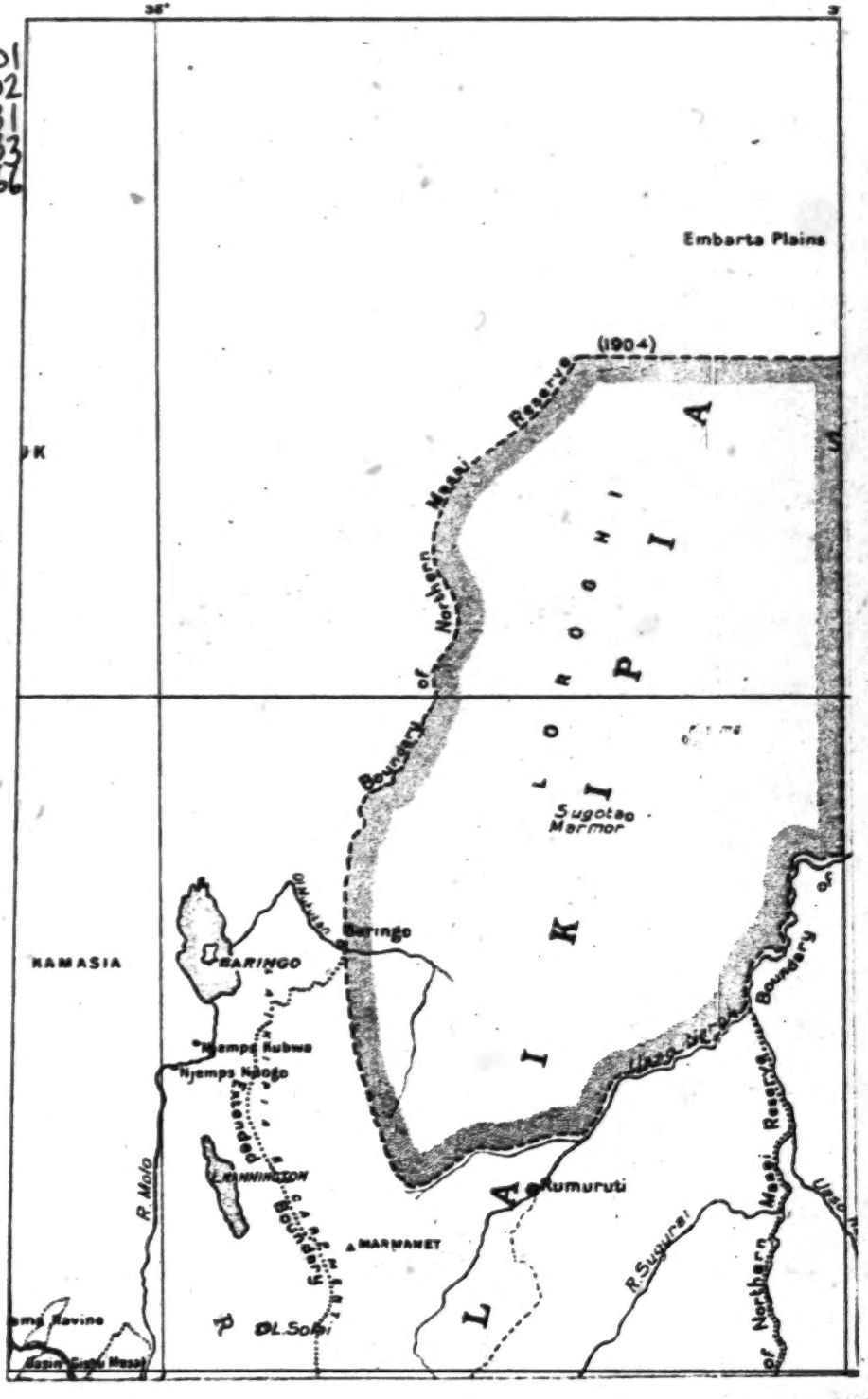

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
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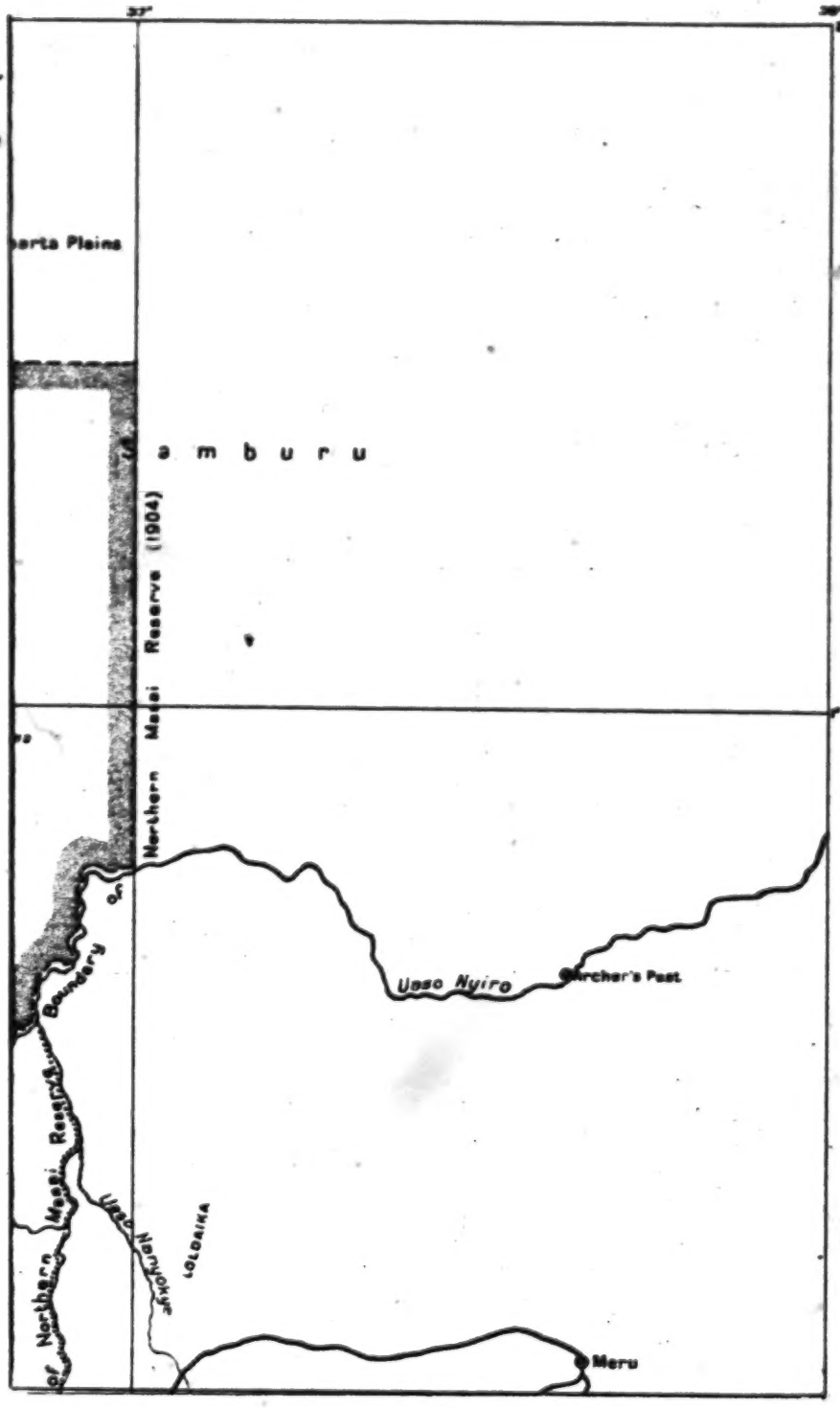

4: Sandford G–4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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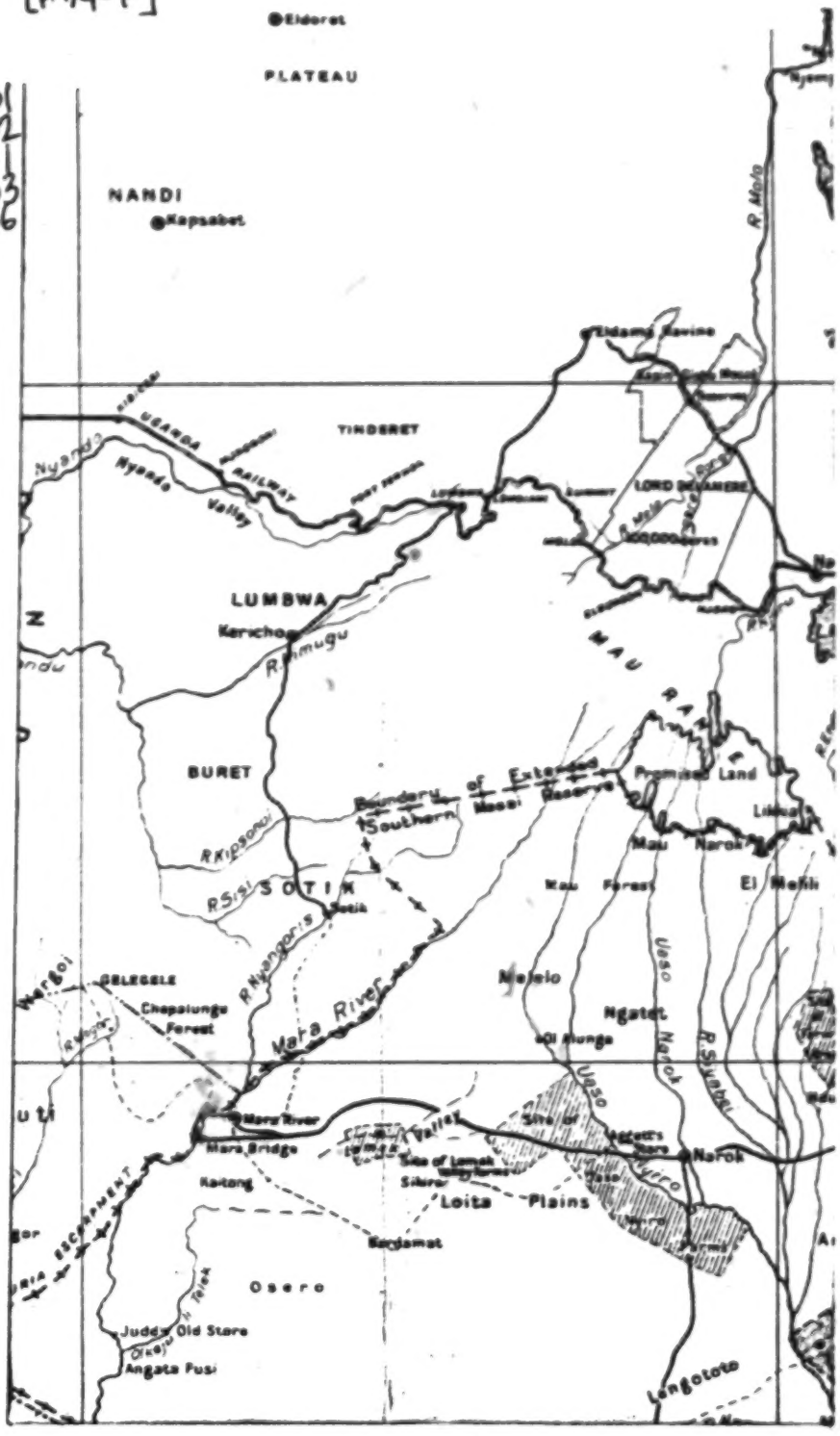
4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.94-F]



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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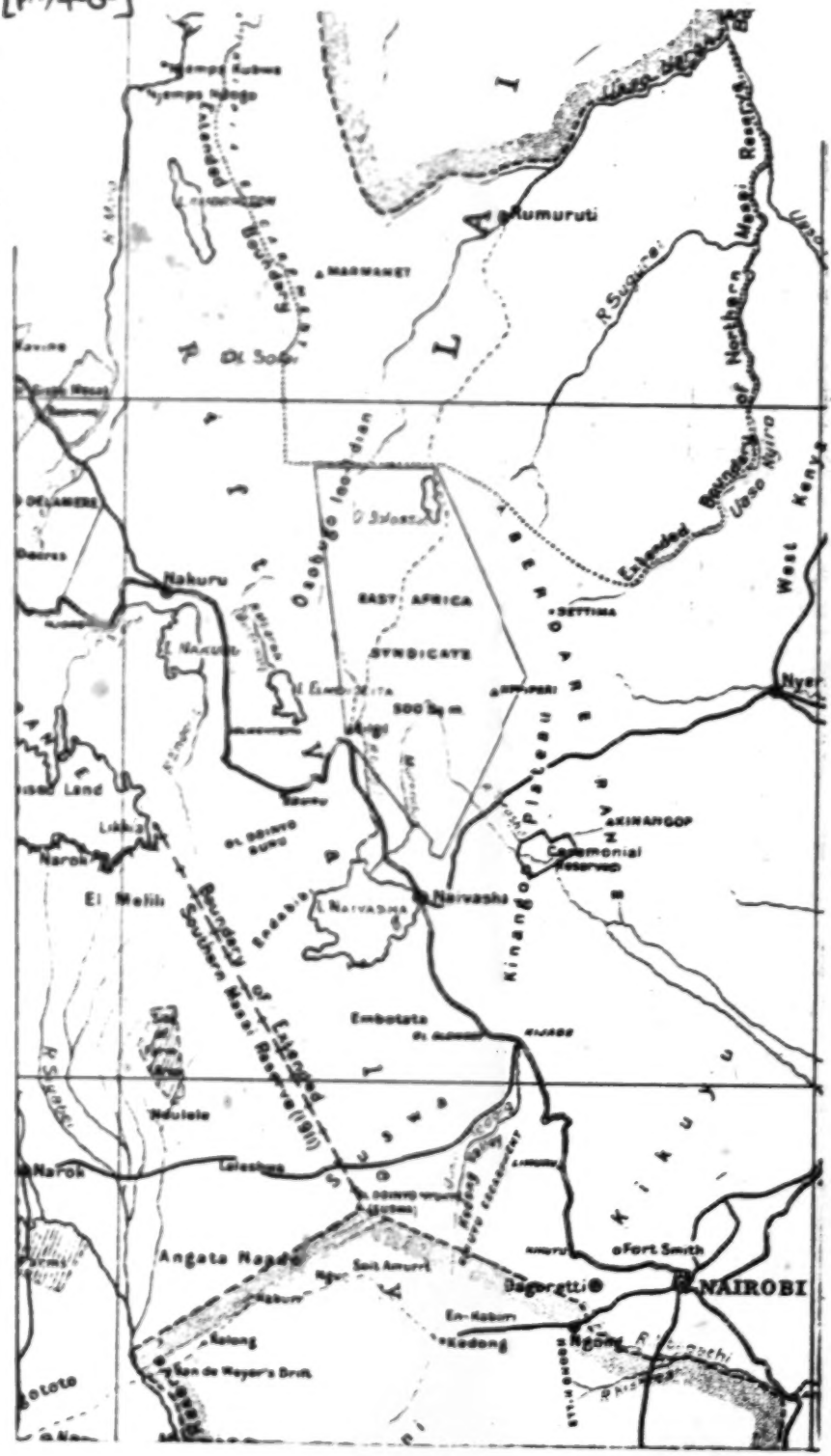

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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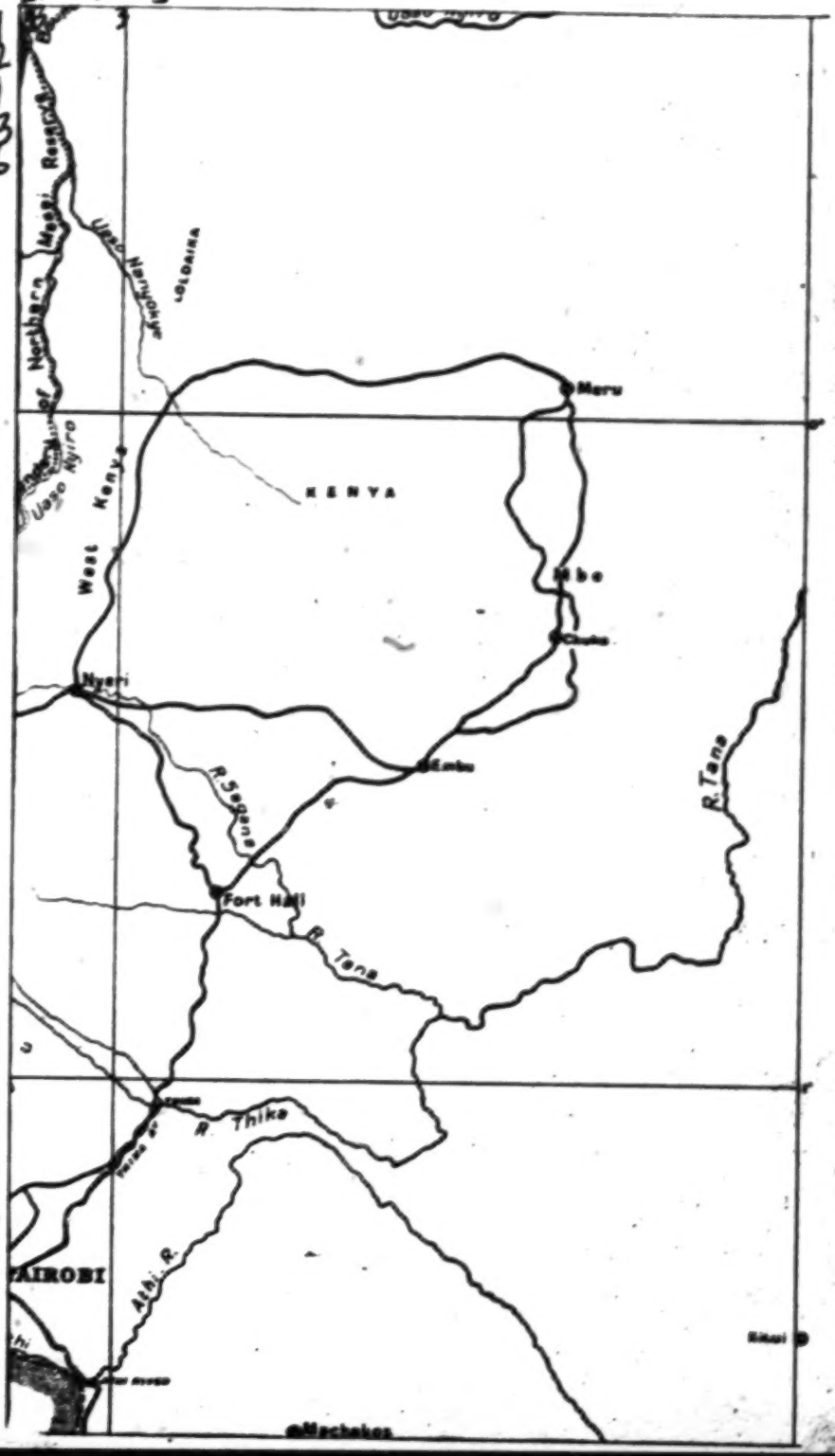

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 74-I]

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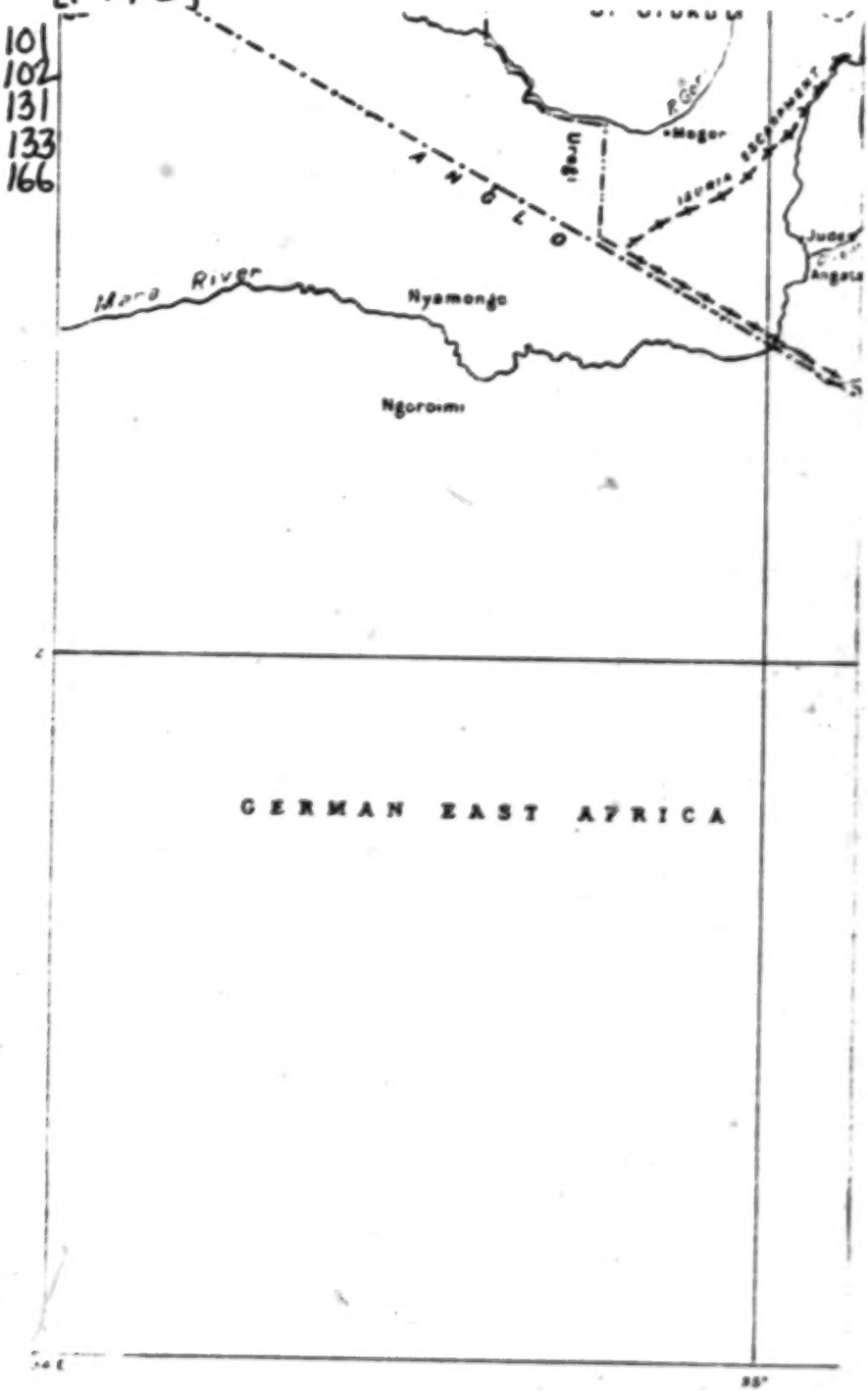

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P 74-J]

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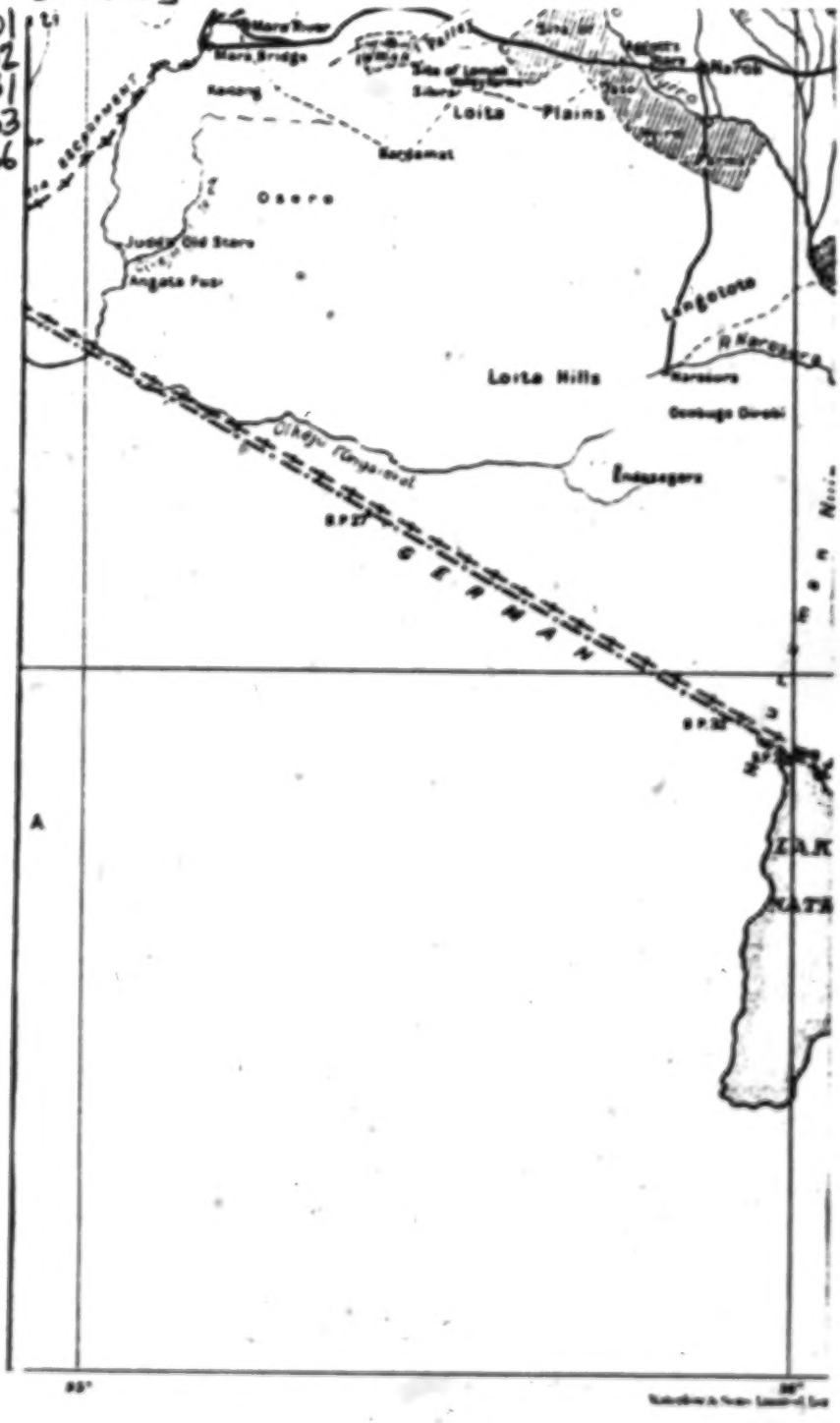

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P 94-K]

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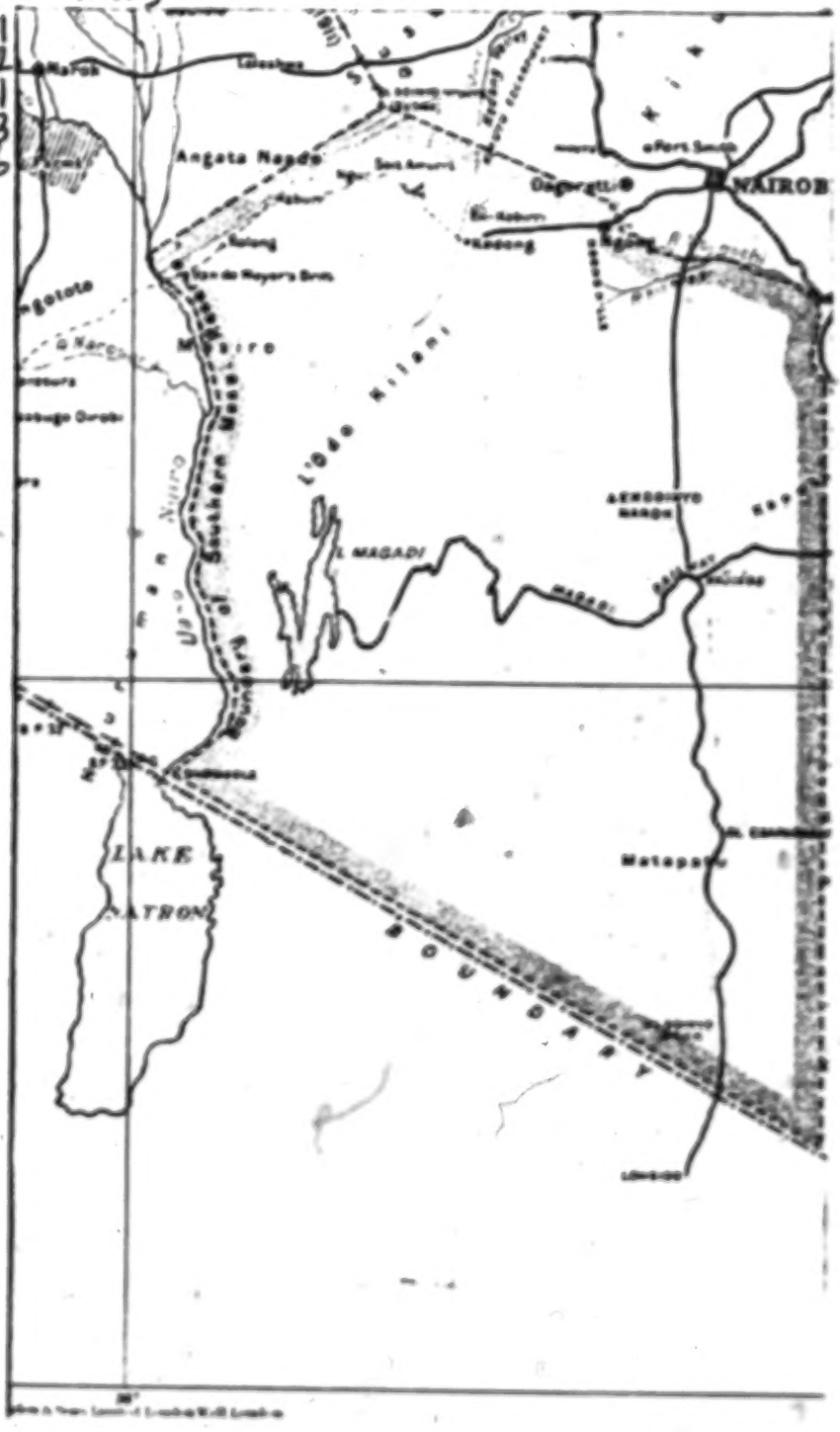
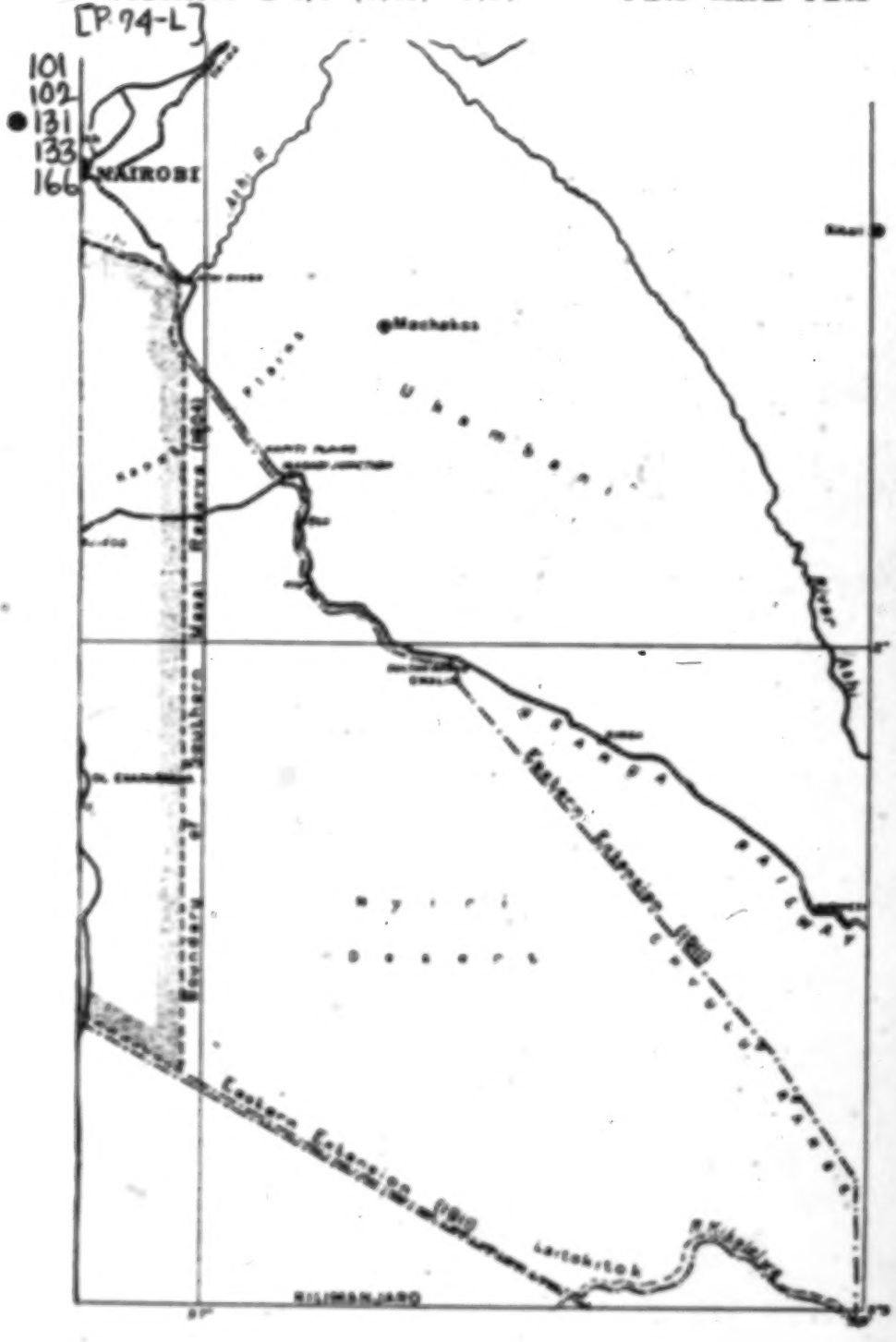


4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P 94-L]



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In his reply, dated the 3rd of December, 1913, the Secretary of State observed that in his opinion the time had not yet arrived when it was either necessary or desirable to impose a cattle tax on the Masai which might be thought by them to be the object or a consequence of the Masai move. The Secretary of State, 3rd December, 1913.

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 9th of March, 1914, the Governor remarked that a review of the present system of native taxation would no doubt be necessary in the near future, but he considered that this was not a matter of urgency and might preferably be held over until the reorganization of native administration had been effected. The Secretary of State agreed that the question might well be deferred. Sir Henry Belfield, 9th March, 1914.

On the 29th of July, 1914, Sir Henry Belfield wrote that he considered the time had come when a tax should be imposed on the cattle belonging to the pastoral tribes on the ground that the precautions taken by Government to prevent the spread of disease had enabled them to largely increase the number of their herds. He desired that the incidence of taxation should be such as to encourage agricultural industry and discourage pastoral proclivities. He therefore appointed a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Ainsworth (Chairman), McClellan, R. W. Hemsted and Northcote, to consider the subject. Owing, however, to the outbreak of war, the sittings of this Committee were delayed and were in fact never held. Sir Henry Belfield, 29th July, 1914.

Mr. Ainsworth considered the question in December, 1914, and the first three months of 1915, and submitted a report on the general question of native taxation on the 29th of April, 1915. In that part of his report which dealt with the Masai Reserve, he remarked that the Masai in the Masai Reserve presented, as regards assessment and taxation, a totally different problem from that encountered in considering the case among agricultural tribes in the Protectorate. The Masai were pastoralists, whose mode of life, customs and requirements differed from those of agricultural natives. They required much more land than agriculturists, and had many fewer inhabitants to the square mile. Mr. Ainsworth, 29th April, 1915.

Statistics of the Masai Reserve estimated the population at 32,000 souls, the number of horned stock at 550,000 head, and of sheep and goats at 2,500,000 head, while the area of the reserve was approximately 9,000,000 acres. The annual taxes paid by the Masai amounted to Rs. 30,000 only. Mr. Ainsworth quoted, in comparison, the case of three agricultural districts, whose total area was 2,168,000 acres, whose population was 669,805 souls, and which paid Rs. 692,751 in hut and poll tax. [161] [231] [651] [131]

The capitalised value of Masai stock was so large as to make the natives worth about Rs. 937 per man, woman and child, and, supposing that this capital account turned over but 5 per cent. per annum, the annual earnings of the tribe would be worth Rs. 47 per head. The total personal wants were very small, while they paid less than one rupee each in annual taxes. It was therefore evident that the Masai did not contribute their fair share to the Protectorate revenue, and that some readjustment was necessary in their case. [434]

In regard to the manner in which the Masai should be taxed, Mr. Ainsworth observed that their nomadic habits and mode of building huts rendered the method of collecting revenue under a hut assessment a far more difficult matter than it was in the case of agricultural tribes. He also considered that any system of poll tax on able-bodied males would be equally unsatisfactory. He therefore proposed a scheme which had been put forward by Mr. Hemsted and which he outlined as follows:—

In order to find out the approximate taxable value of the Masai, the tax should be worked out on a percentage, based on the assessed unimproved value of the land. The amount due would be collected in the form of a cattle tax (ignoring sheep and goats). The acreage of the reserve being nine million acres, the unimproved value being assumed to be Rs. 3 per acre, a tax of 1 per cent. on the unimproved value would produce a revenue of Rs. 270,000. This amount would be divided amongst the total number of cattle estimated, and would amount to 54 cents. per head on half a million head of cattle. Mr. Ainsworth considered that there would be considerable difficulty in counting the cattle, and suggested

4: Sandford
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FL12 Masai FL12

P.98-A	P.98-B	P.98-C
	P.98-D	P.98-E

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 98]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 98-A]

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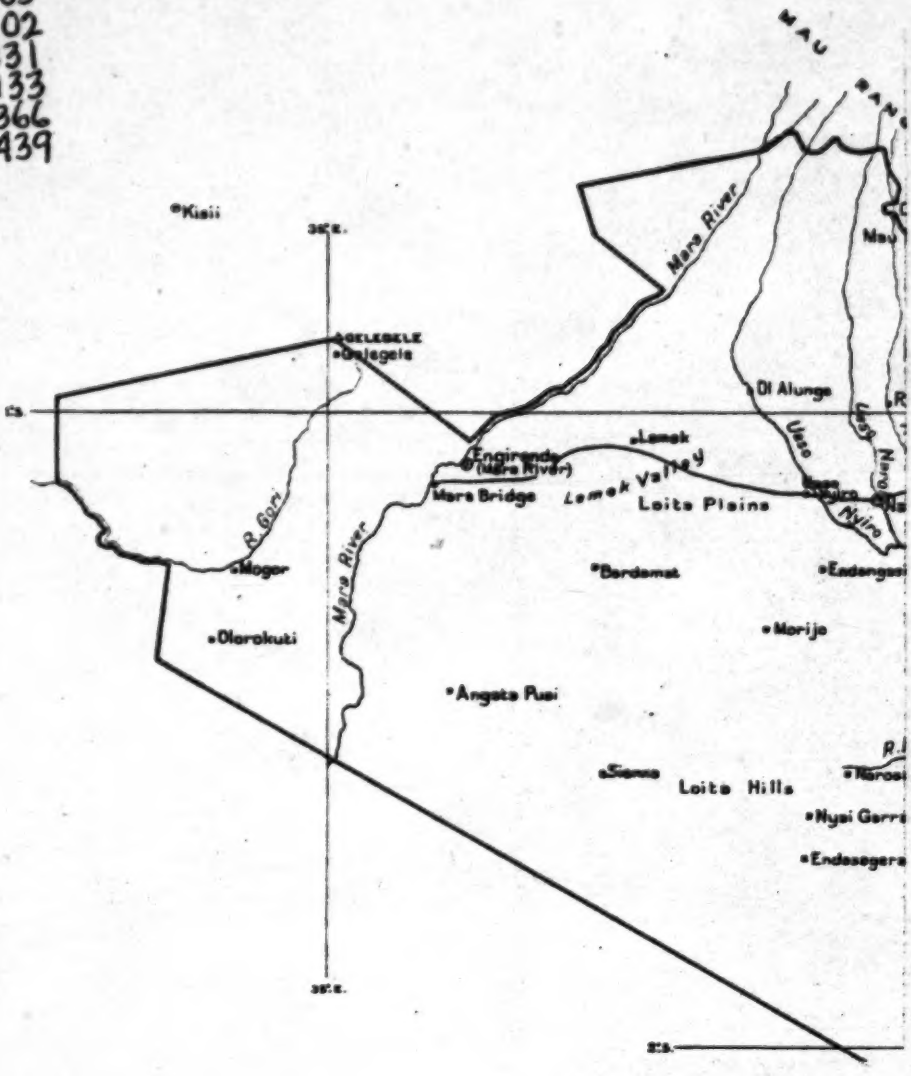

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-B]

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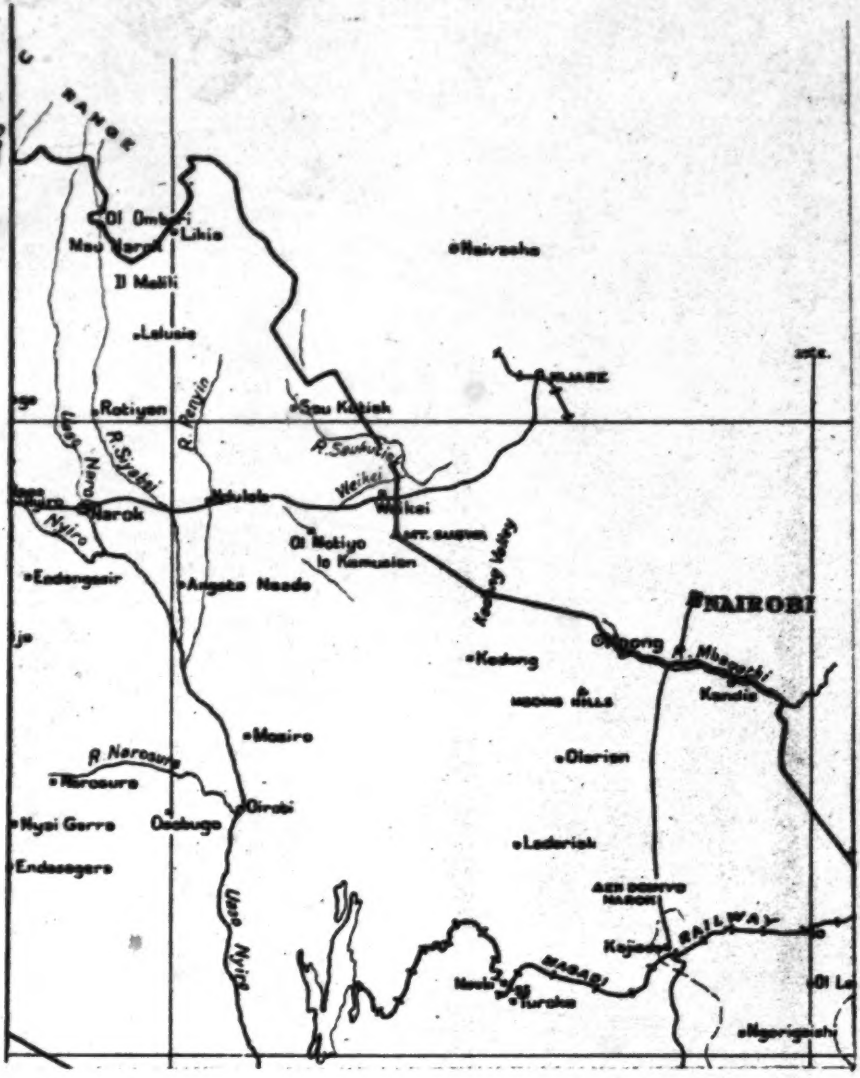

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P.98-C]

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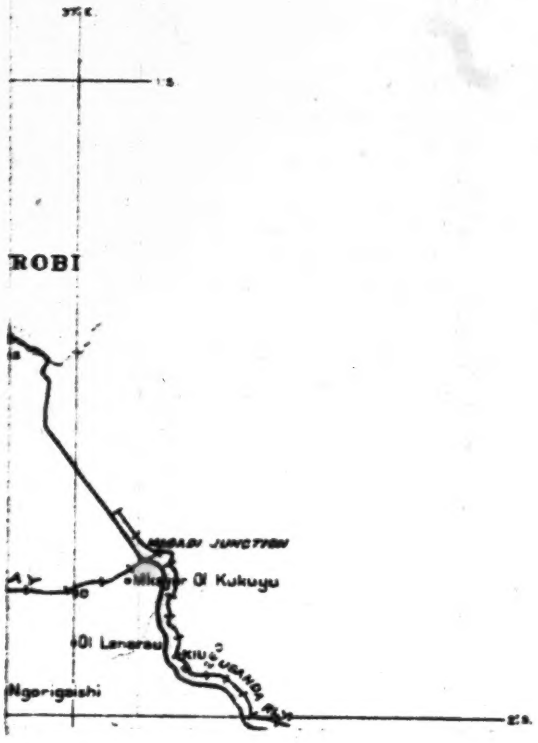
TRADE CENTRES

in the

MASAI RESERVE

Scale 1 : 1,000,000.



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P-98-D]

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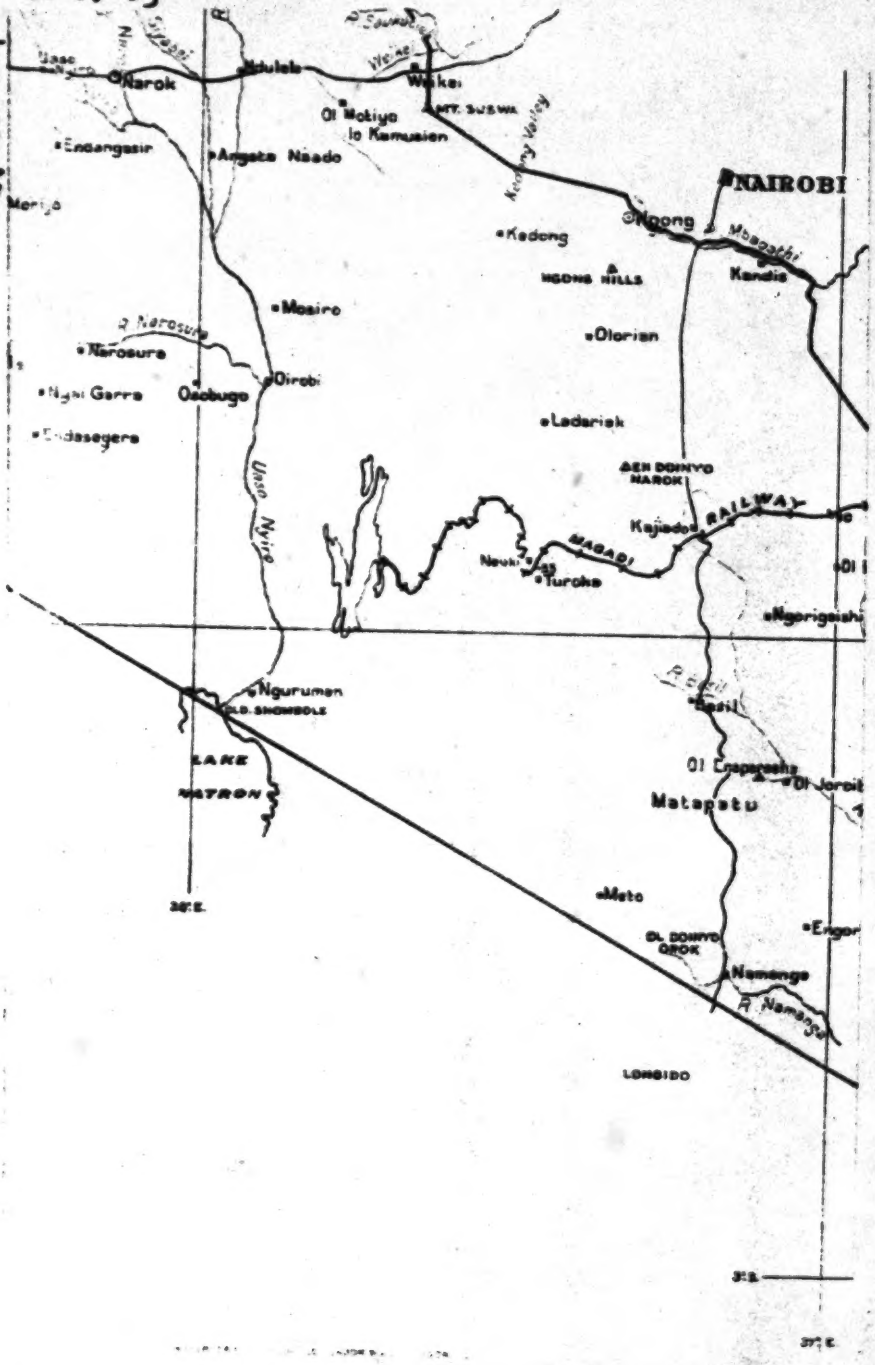

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.98-E]

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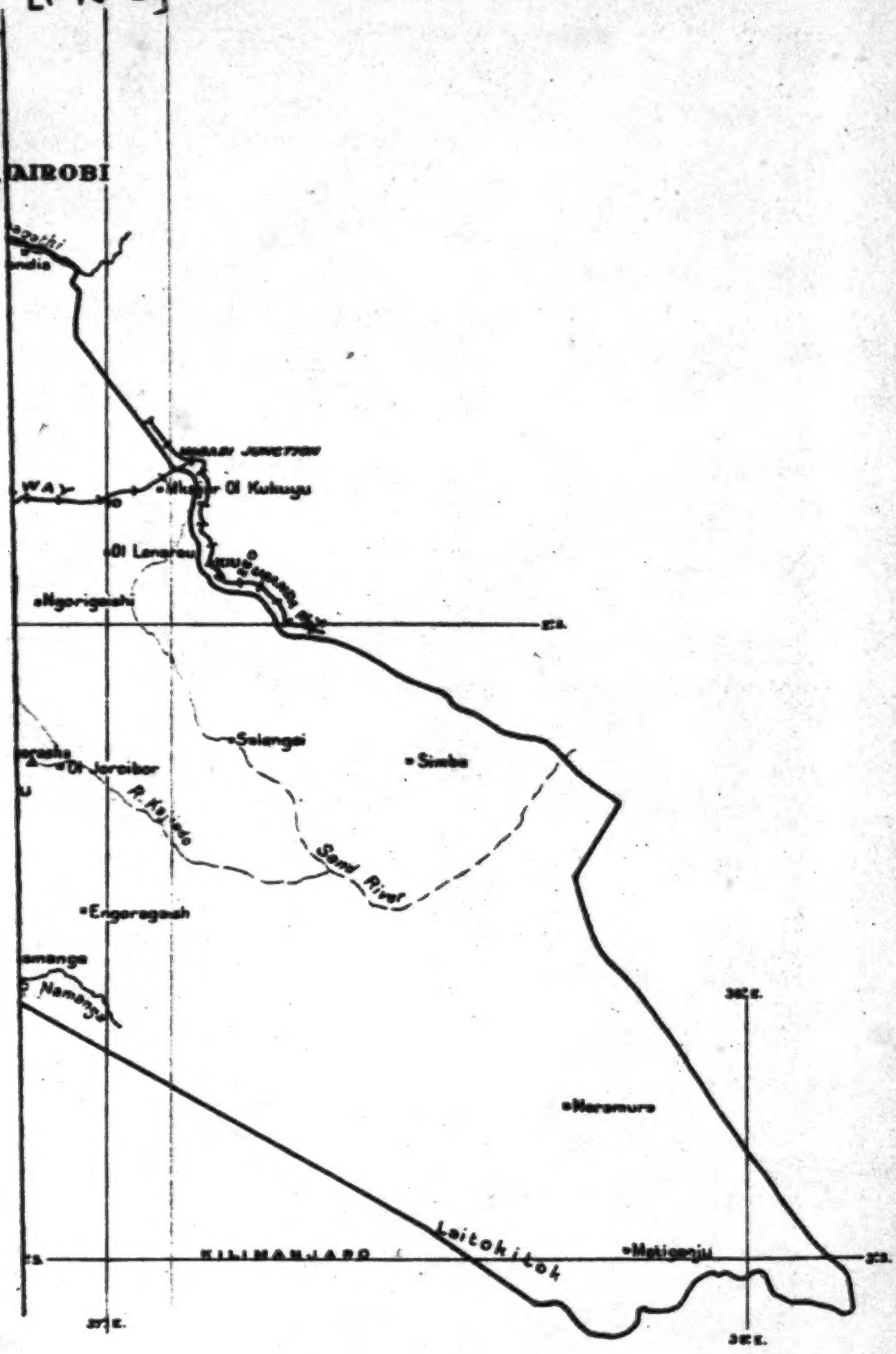

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P. 176-A	P. 176-B
P. 176-C	P. 176-D

[Chart of positions of map facing p. 176]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 196-A]

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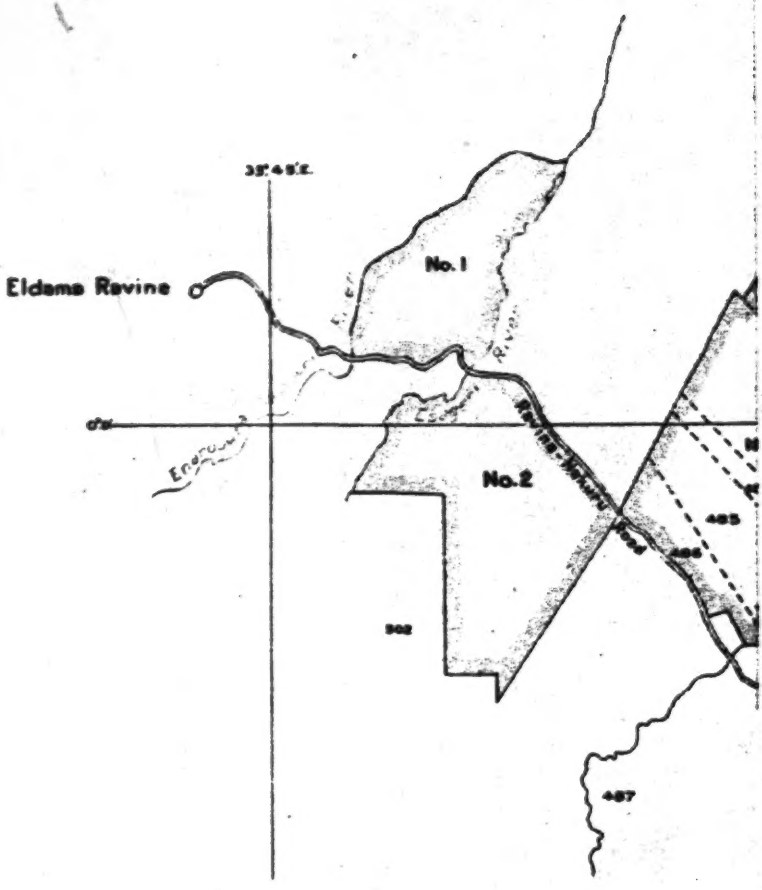
THE

UASIN GISHU MASAI

Scale: 4 miles = 1 in



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 176-B]

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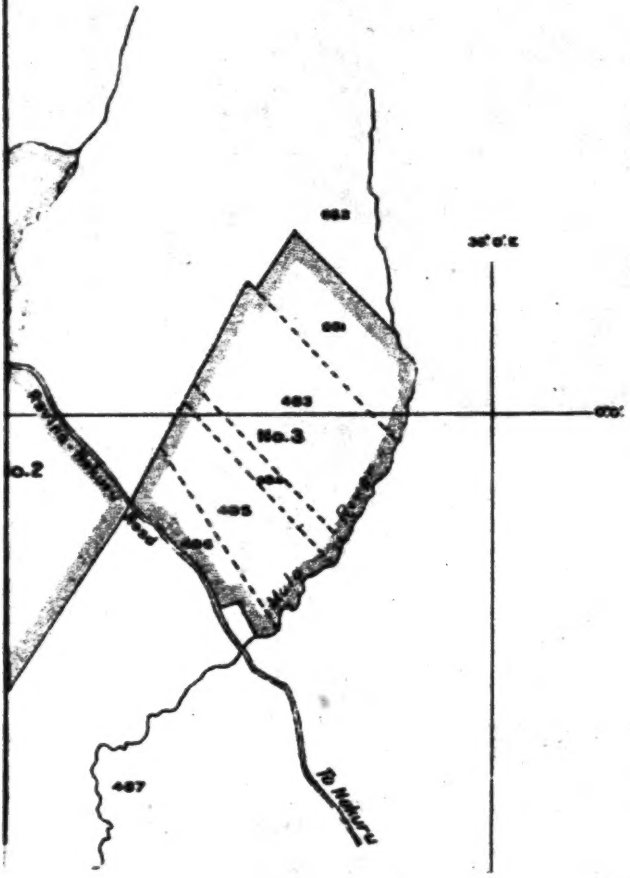
THE

GISHU MASAI RESERVES

Scale: 4 miles = 1 inch



4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 196-C]

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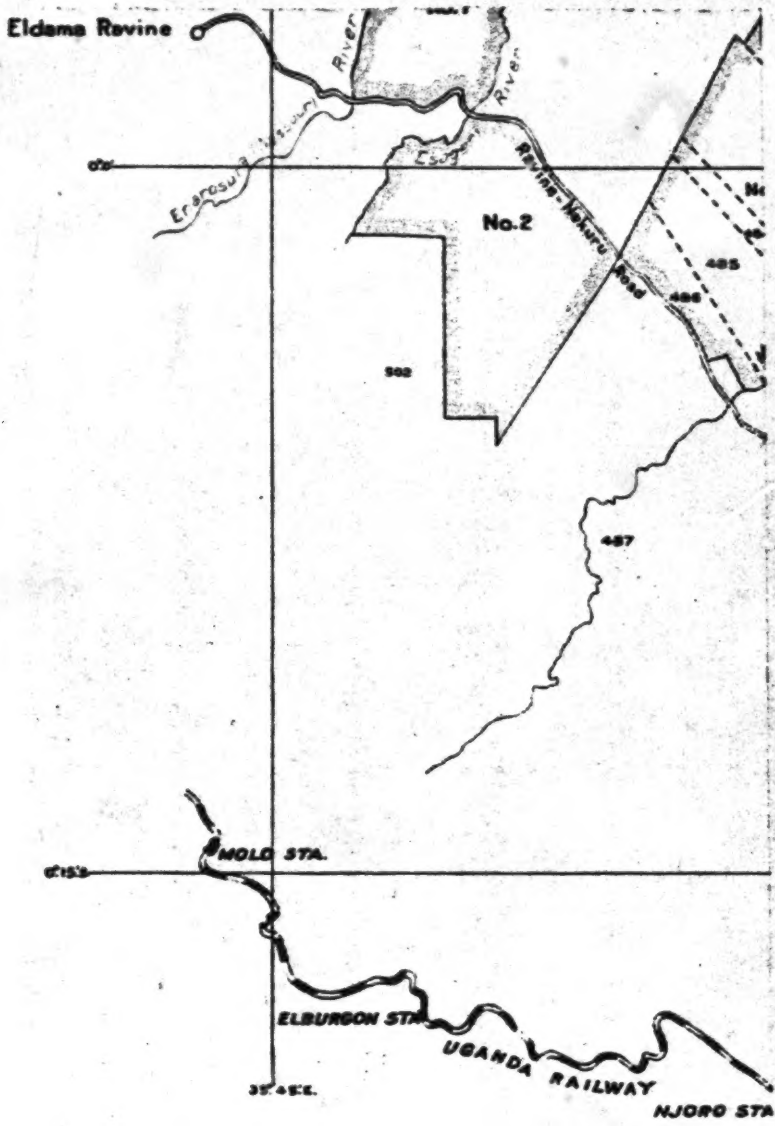
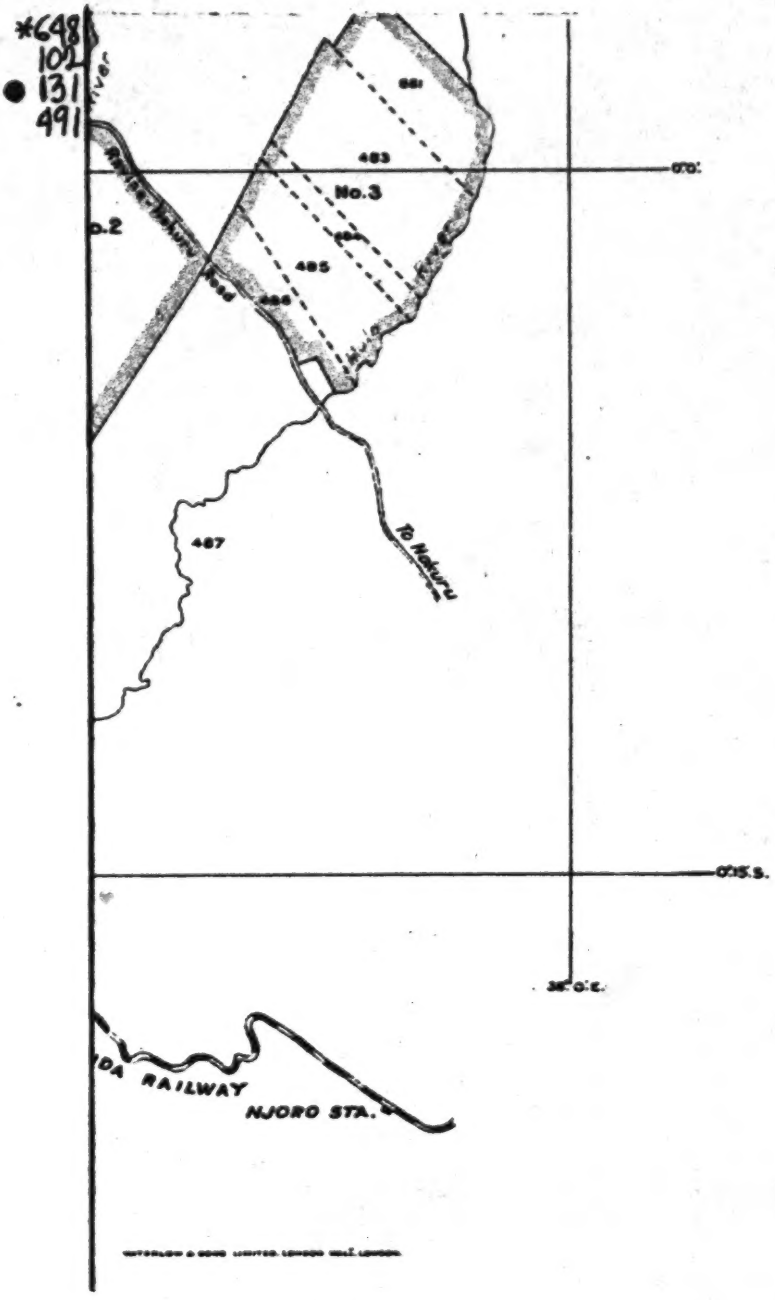


4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 176-D]



Prior to the meeting, Mr. Hollis visited the Uasin Gishu Native Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Uasin Gishu Masai in this area numbered in all between 1,400 and 1,500 souls, and paid tax on 440 huts. They possessed 15,000 head of cattle and 25,000 sheep and goats. 4,000 head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Grogan, who received toll in bullocks at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum. There were 30 kraals on Lord Delamere's land, containing 3,000 head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining 7,000 or 8,000 cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve.

Statistics of the Uasin Gishu Masai. 648* 231 [162] [651]

The two reserves occupied by the Uasin Gishu Masai in February, 1911, were separated by a strip of alienated land, and steps were taken to re-acquire parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Grogan which would join these two areas and form one native reserve having an area of some 40,000 acres. The Masai were informed that, when this reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the question of boundaries as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of hut tax, they would be required to pay a cattle tax of R. 1 per head or a stock tax of one beast out of every herd of 100 cattle, sheep or goats.

Further extension of the reserve. 648* 311

In July, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, reported that dissensions had occurred between Chief Lembere and the hereditary Laibon, Walikondi, leading men in the Masai Reserve. Lembere had been constituted Chief by Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson when he was stationed at Ravine and had acquired a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Walikondi, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Masai, from Laikipia into the Southern Masai Reserve. His following expressed a desire to accompany him. It seemed, however, that such a movement would be the cause of friction between the Uasin Gishu and the other Masai, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Masai Move was an accomplished fact.

Dissensions between Lembere and Walikondi. 648* 598 754 791

In May, 1912, the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Grogan in the Naivasha Province for an area on the Athi Plains. Captain Grogan was willing to exchange 16,638 acres, to be used for an extension of the Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve, for 30,000 acres on the Athi Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1912, and the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve. 648*

A description of the Uasin Gishu Masai Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:—

Uasin Gishu Masai Reserve boundaries. 648* 131

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road crosses the Enarosuro (or Nassour) River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to its junction with the Esageri (or Sageri) River; thence along the left bank of the Esageri River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Esageri River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Nakuru to the most northerly corner or portion L.O. 487; thence in south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 487 to its intersection with the eastern boundary to L.O. 502; thence northerly and westerly along the eastern and northern boundaries of portion L.O. 502 to the Esageri River; thence along the right bank of the Esageri River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 486 on the Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 485, 484, 483, 661 in a north-easterly direction to the most northerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 662); thence in a south-easterly direction along the southern boundary of L.O 662 to the Molo River;

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thence along the left bank of the Molo River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road; thence along the road in the direction of Eldama Ravine to the point of commencement.

"The following area, however, is to be excluded from this native reserve, viz., 800 acres situated as follows:—

"Commencing at the point where the Molo River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldama Ravine Road the boundary follows this road in the direction of Eldama Ravine for about one and one-third miles; thence in an easterly direction for about half a mile; thence in a south-south-easterly direction to the Molo River, thence along the left bank of the Molo River up stream to the point of commencement."

*648 The Uasin Gishu Masai Pass Regulations, 1914.

On the 6th of April, 1914, Rules were introduced under the Native Passes Regulations, 1900, forbidding the Uasin Gishu Masai from proceeding out of the reserve set aside for the use of that tribe except under permit from a District Commissioner or Assistant District Commissioner..

Proposals for the removal of the Uasin Gishu Masai.

In August, 1914, proposals emanated from the Land Office recommending the removal of the Uasin Gishu Masai from the area reserved for them and throwing their reserve open to European settlement. The argument was that in the event of a railway passing through that part of the country, it would be a pity to allow this small and unprofitable tribe to occupy a tract of land so valuable from an agricultural point of view as the Molo River Reserve.

It was suggested that a place might be found for these people in the Southern Masai Reserve.

Action on these proposals was deferred by order of the Governor until various other important questions relating to native reserves had been settled.

*648 166 [628] The Uasin Gishu Masai in North Kavirondo District.

After the defeat of the Uasin Gishu Masai by the Laikipia Masai on the plateau during the latter half of the nineteenth century, numbers of the former tribe found their way into Kavirondo country and settled in the North Kavirondo area under the Nandi Escarpment. From that area they were moved further to the west in 1903. In 1907 they were located in all parts of the North Kavirondo district, some of the kraals being situated near the Uganda border. Periodically they asked to be allowed to take up separate and unoccupied grazing lands to the east of the district but those applications were opposed by the Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Ainsworth, who insisted that these Masai should remain mixed up with the Kavirondo.

When rinderpest broke out in North Kavirondo District in 1911, the District Commissioner allowed these people to move east with their cattle so that the herds might escape the area of infection and they used the opportunity afforded by this privilege in order to make an effort to achieve their desire to be allowed to reside by themselves under Masai conditions. Several manyattas moved into the Trans-Nzoya area.

The future policy in dealing with this section of the tribe was referred to the Governor for decision in March, 1913, and he directed that these Uasin Gishu Masai should be moved into the North Kavirondo District and placed under the control of responsible chiefs with a view to inducing them to mix with the neighbouring Kavirondo and to abandon their pastoral tendencies in favour of agricultural enterprise.

Steps were taken during March and April, 1914, to move these Masai from the eastern parts of the district and they were distributed in the various locations under the personal supervision of the chiefs concerned.

[P. 179 not processed]

Appendix 1.

Agreement, dated 10th August, 1904, between His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate and the Chiefs of the Masai Tribe.

*648 166 We, the Undersigned, being the Lybon and Chiefs (representatives) of the existing clans and sections of the Masai tribes in the East Africa Protectorate, having, this 9th day of August, 1904, met Sir Donald Stewart, His Majesty's Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate and discussed fully the question of a land settlement scheme for the Masai, have, of our own free will, decided that it is for our best interests to remove our people, flocks, and herds into definite reservations away from the railway line, and away from any land that may be thrown open to European settlement.

We have, after having already discussed the matter with Mr. Hobley at Naivasha and Mr. Ainsworth at Nairobi, given this matter every consideration, and we recognise that the Government, in taking up this question, are taking into consideration our best interests.

Now we, being fully satisfied that the proposals for our removal to definite and final reserves are for the undoubted good of our race, have agreed as follows;—

●[13] That the Elburgu, Gekunuki, Loita, Damat, and Laitutok sections shall remove absolutely to Laikipia, and the boundaries of the Settlement shall be, approximately, as follows:—

On the north, by the Loroghi Mountains.

On the west, by the Laikipia (Ndoror) Escarpment.

On the south, by the Lesuswa or Nyam and Guaso Narok Rivers.

On the east, by Kisima (approximate).

And by the removal of the foregoing sections to the reserve we undertake to vacate the whole of the Rift Valley, to be used by the Government for the purposes of European settlement. Further, that the Kaptei, Matapatu, Ndogalani, and Sigarari sections shall remove into the territory originally occupied by them to the south of Donyo Lamuyu (Ngongo), and the Kissarian stream, and to comprise within the area the Donyo Lamuyu, Ndogalani, and Matapatu Mountains, and the Donyo Narok, and to extend to Soiian on the west.

In addition to the foregoing, Lenana, as Chief Lybon, and his successors, to be allowed to occupy the land lying in between the Mbagathi and Kissarian streams from Donyo Lamuyu to the point where both streams meet, with the exception of land already occupied by Mr. Oulton, Mr. McQueen, and Mr. Paterson.

*648 In addition to the foregoing, we asked that a right of road to include certain access to water be granted to us to allow of our keeping up communications between the two reserved areas, and, further, that we be allowed to retain control of at least 5 square miles of land (at a point on the slopes of Kinangop to be pointed out by Legalishu and Masakondi), whereat we can carry out our circumcision rites and ceremonies, in accordance with the custom of our ancestors.

We ask, as a most important point in this arrangement, that the Government will establish and maintain a station on Laikipia, and that officers whom we know and trust may be appointed to look after us there.

Also that the Government will pay reasonable compensation for any Masai cultivation at present existing near Nairobi.

In conclusion, we wish to state that we are quite satisfied with the foregoing arrangement, and we bind ourselves and our successors, as well as our people, to observe them.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

decimation of the Masai of that part, through their intestine wars—a fact that has caused them to retreat from the northerly districts, which are in dangerous proximity to the Wa-sŭk.

The Masai country, so called, may be said to include the area lying between 1° N. lat., and 5° S. In breadth it is very irregular; but if we say that the average is ninety miles, we shall be pretty near the truth. In this, however, we are including several isolated areas occupied either by tribes wholly different from the Masai, or by the agricultural Wakwafi, who are mere off-shoots of the Masai.

The rainfall is very small over the greater part of this large area. Only an approximate guess, of course, can be given—but I think I am within the mark in placing the rainfall of the lower desert region at fifteen inches, and the higher plateau areas at from thirty to forty inches in the year. During the fourteen months in which I travelled in that region my caravan was not caught ten times on the march by rain,—a striking contrast to my experience in the region further south, where, for weeks together, rain was incessant. The rains are almost entirely confined to February, March, and April. The consequence of this insignificant rainfall is, as we have seen, that the lower plains are practically desert, though the soil is of the richest nature. There are absolutely no marshes, with their physical discomforts and poisonous exhalations breeding disease and death. The air is dry and invigorating, and though the days are hot yet the breezes blow with refreshing coolness, and a night of low temperature—and even frequently of intense cold—braces one up for the fatigues of the garish day. The contrast, indeed, is felt to be just a little too great, when you rise, shivering, in the morning, to see the grass covered with hoar frost, and then in the afternoon find yourself perspiring in the airiest of costumes, under a shady bush, with the temperature above 90° Fahr. The air, however, being so dry, I felt no inconvenience from these abrupt changes, and it was simply wonderful to see how the men would lie in the open air without a shred of clothing, and with the temperature at the freezing-point.

At the high altitudes of this plateau region, hailstorms of very great violence are of frequent occurrence, more particularly in the neighbourhood of the Aberdare Mountains. More than once caravans have been overtaken by them while on the march, and great numbers of the men killed by the

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

[pages preceding p. 167 not processed]

SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

MASAILAND constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1902, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai tribesmen. The area of the District is 15,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1943 at 53,000.[1] The density is thus 3·4 per square mile.

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes waterless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the character assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Nairage-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an infinitesimal part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 600,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still to some extent suffering from the effects of the great rinderpest epidemic of 1890, which had entailed such catastrophic results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1933 and 1934, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1946, page 252.

[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. James at page 49 of Africa, January, 1939, together with a useful bibliography.

[3] Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1918, page 3.

7: Hailey C-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

the Masai must, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, ninety per cent. being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the penetration of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area of 47 square miles (known locally as Ol-ngurumone) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside in 1942 for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are not readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area thus left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 15,177 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with an estimated population of 32,168, and a density of 1.7 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 633 to 674 of the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1946, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation to the Government to reserve those lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "so long

[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939–45, page 54. But see also the Agrarian Problem in Kenya, 1947, page 14 for more recent developments. Most of the Kikuyu are said to have abandoned their lands in the Settlement.

[2] Chapter III, page 180.

[3] Cmd. 4556 (1934) page 185. For fuller details see Chapter III of Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 44 dated 17 April, 1946. The Agreement of 1911 is printed at page 577 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

Mbugwe are Bantu. There is also a small group of Tindiga, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section I.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and southward on the part of the tribes, who were previously contained in a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

The Masai District forms the southern portion of the larger block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21½ million acres in extent, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,945 in Kenya and as 47,276 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which bear in particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but its spearheads had in 1890 penetrated as far south as the Great Ruaha River and even to Ulehe in the Iringa District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids after that time, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war purposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover lacking in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for protecting their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained undisturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast Serengeti plain, with the extinct volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the Rift Wall, the plateau type of country is characterised by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral purposes. If tradition is correct in holding that the tribe was once

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[1] See page 216.
[2] Page 288, Chapter II.
[3] See An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve, G. R. Sandford, 1919.

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THE SOUTHERN NILO-HAMITES[1]

INTRODUCTION

The Nilo-Hamitic peoples included in this volume form, in the main, two reasonably compact related groups: the Nandi, who live on the western edge of the Kenya highlands; and to the east of them, the Masai, whose land formerly stretched north and south for 400 miles along the Great Rift Valley. The Nandi-speaking tribes, homogeneous in culture, are derived from a common stock; and their culture has in turn a good deal in common with that of the Masai. Distributed through the highlands occupied by the Nandi and Masai are the scattered hordes[2] of Okiek, more commonly known as Dorobo or Wandorobo, the forest-dwelling hunters who preceded the present native inhabitants of Kenya Colony and northern Tanganyika Territory. The racial position of these Dorobo is uncertain: some people regard them (I believe erroneously) as early Nilo-Hamites; but since they have derived their present language and much of their culture from the Nandi, they are entitled to a place among the Nilo-Hamites.

The Tatog division of the Nandi group is separated from the rest of the Nandi-speakers, and lies close to the edge of the southern Masai; these people are included with the Nilo-Hamites on the score of language alone, since at present there seems to be no evidence of physical or cultural connection between them and the rest of the Nandi group. The languages, however, are unmistakably related, and therefore justify their inclusion here.

The third group, described as "unclassified," has been included because the peoples embraced by it live on the fringe of the Nilo-Hamites and would otherwise have been left out of the Ethnographic Survey altogether, since they cannot be fitted into any East African group under any existing scheme of classification. For these reasons it is considered that their appearance here is justifiable. The Iraqw and their congeners are sometimes described as Hamitic; but this attribution is by no means certain, nor has it yet been possible to classify their languages in spite of the availability of material, and for the present they must be left as "unclassified." The Hadzapi are "bushmen"—wild hunting people of the bush; and the Sandawe seem to be analogous to the Hottentots. These have a number of links with the Bushmen and Hottentots of South-West Africa; but they belong territorially to East Africa.

The majority of the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists practising (with the exception of the Pastoral Masai) a little agriculture, intensely conservative, devoted to their cattle, and regarding the rest of the world with contempt, a condition from which even now many of them are but slowly emerging. These characteristics help to explain such things as the absence of any extensive development of trade, and the lack of headway made among many of them by missionary efforts. In pre-European days they not only lay outside the slave trade, but largely controlled the ordinary coast trade to the highlands; hence Islam did not appear among them.

NOMENCLATURE

1. Nandi Group

There is no general term which is used by the people themselves to cover the main Nandi-speaking group, but (1) all Dorobo call themselves Okiek, sing. Okiot, though they have no horde-names of their own; (2) the term Tatog(a) is a group name covering eight tribes of which the Barabaig are the largest.

[1] For the relationship of the Southern Nilo-Hamites to the other Nilo-Hamitic Peoples, see *Ethnographic Survey*, East Central Africa, Part VI.

[2] The reasons for choosing this term "horde" are given in my paper "The social institutions of the Dorobo," *Anthropos*, 1951, XLVI, p. 2.

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group: Kipkurerek, Tindiret, Loldiani, Ravine, Western Mau, Eastern Mau; Central group: Dundule, Saleta, Kidoq, Digiri; Eastern group: Mt. Kenya, Kisima; Southern group: Mosiro. The western, central, and eastern groups are all in Kenya, the southern in Tanganyika Territory.

The Tatog division comprises:[6]

1. Barabaig: call themselves Barabaik, sing. Barabanda; the sing. primary form is Baraban; the plur. primary Baraba has not yet been recorded. 2. Gisamajenk. 3. Dororojek. 4. Darawajek. 5. Buradik. 6. Simajek. 7. Rotageienk. 8. Gidanwodik.

The Tatog (Tatoga) are called Taturu by their Sandawe and Bantu neighbours; this is said to be a corruption of Tatog. They are called Il-Maŋati, sing. Ol-Maŋatinta (= " the enemies ") by the Masai, and this term has crept into some of the literature.

II. Masai Group

The Masai as a whole call themselves Il-Maasai, sing. Ol-Maasani.[7] There is some uncertainty as to the nomenclature and tribal divisions of the Masai. It is clear, however, that they are not a single tribe, but a group consisting of a number of pastoral units called *il-osho*, sing. *ol-oshon*, or sub-tribes, which were associated in major units which may be called tribes and were the political units. These tribes and their sub-tribes may be provisionally set out as follows:

Northern Masai:

1. Il-Aikipiak, sing. Ol-Aikipiani. Written also Laikipya, Laikipia, and even Lykipia.
2. Il-Wuasin-kishu, sing. Ol-Wuasin-kishui. Commonly written Uasin Gishu, and formerly Guas Ngishu from the mistaken idea that it meant " river (*guaso*) of cattle," whereas it means " striped cattle."
3. I-Sampur, sing. O-Sampurri; commonly written Samburu or Sambur. Called by the older travellers Burkeneji (*i-loo-ibor-kineji* = people of the white goats).

Central or Rift Valley Masai:

4. Il-Kinopop, sing. Ol-Kinopopi, a grouping of three *il-osho* called Il-Purko, Il-Damat, and Il-Keek-o-nyokie. Il-Purko has been Europeanized into Elburgon, and Kinopop into Kinangop.
5. Il-Kaputie, sing. Ol-Kaputieni, a grouping of three *il-osho* called Il-Kaputie, Il-oo-do-kilani, and Il-dala-le-kutuk. The first is also written Kapiti, Kapte; the second is the Dogilani of the older travellers.
6. I-Loitai, a grouping of the I-Loitai and I-Siria, to which latter belong the laibons of the il-Aiser clan.

Southern Masai:

7. Il-Kisonko, sing. Ol-Kisonkoi, generally written Kisongo, the Masai of Tanganyika Territory.

All these are Pastoral Masai; the first two no longer exist as separate tribal entities: the Il-Wuasin-kishu were broken up about 1850, and lost their laibon; though they have now been re-formed under their old name, this is due to the action of the British Administration. The Il-Aikipiak have also lost their land and their separate identity.

The Agricultural Masai are known as I-Lumpua, sing. O-Lumpuani, commonly

[6] Information from Mr. Gordon Wilson.

[7] *il* and *ol* in Masai names and words are the plural and singular article respectively (feminine, *in*; sing., *en*). The Wuasin Kishu pronunciation is Maasae.

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written Lumbwa; and as Il-Oikop, sing. Ol-Oikopani, written variously Loikop, Loikob, Eloigob, and even Leukop. The Kenya Masai call the pastoral Masai of Tanganyika, Kisonko, and the Agricultural Masai of Tanganyika they call Il-Arusa, the people known in Tanganyika as Arusa being a strongly Masaiized group of basically Pare (Bantu) origin. The name Il-Tiamus, sing. Ol-Tiamusi, written also Enjemusi, Njamusi, Njemps, etc., refers to the Agricultural Masai at the south end of Lake Baringo.

The name Wakwafi, Wakwavi applied by the Swahili to the Masai does not, it seems, really distinguish agricultural from pastoral, and the distinction made by Krapf in 1854 is more apparent than real. The word is derived from the Masai *(in-)kuapi*, pl. of *enkop*, "the countries," and from it come the names used of the Masai as a whole by (*a*) the Bantu, e.g., Kikuyu, Kamba, *A-Kabi;* (*b*) the Nandi group: Dorobo, *Ipkuapek;* Kony, *Ipkopek;* Keyo, *Kipkopek;* Nandi, *Ipuapek*.

III. Unclassified Peoples

1. Hadzapi: call themselves Hadzapi, sing Hadza. They are called WaTindega by the Isanzu, and WaKindiga and Kangeju by others.
2. Sandawe: call themselves Sandawe, sing. Sandawe'a.
3. Iraqw: call themselves Iraqwa, sing. Iraqutu. Other forms used by Europeans are Irak, Irakw, Erokh. They are also called WaMbulu, which is thought to be derived from the Swahili *mbulu*, "a person who says meaningless things because of madness or weak intellect"; and the district is known as Mbulu.
4. Gorowa: call themselves Gorowa. Also known as Goroa, and sometimes as Fiome, Fiume, from Mount Ufiome (Ufiume).
5. Alawa: call themselves Alawa; also known as Wasi.
6. Burungi: call themselves Burungi.

GROUPING

Most of the Southern Nilo-Hamites live in the highlands of Kenya Colony; the southern Masai (Kisonko) and Tatoga are found in the northern part of Tanganyika Territory.

The Nandi group (Group I) is found in two concentrations: (i) to the north-east of Lake Victoria; (ii) south of Lake Eyasi.[a] The Dorobo are scattered over the forested parts of the highland area. The *Nandi division* of the group is mainly west of the Rift Valley on all sides of the Uasin Gishu plateau, at the north-west corner of which is Mount Elgon, on whose lower slopes live the Kony and Pok in Kenya, and the Sapei and Sapaut in Uganda. East of Elgon, and at the north-east corner of the plateau, are the Suk, living partly in the hill country north-east of Kitale, and partly in the low country farther east. South of the Suk, on the western edge of the Rift Valley, and along the east side of the plateau are the Marakuet, Endo, and Keyo; east of the Keyo are the Tuken or Kamasya. The Keyo country is a long, narrow strip consisting of high grassland and forest along the top of the escarpment, the precipitous slope of the escarpment itself, and the valley of the Kerio lying some 4,000 ft. below the summit of the escarpment. The south end of the Keyo country adjoins the hill country of the Mau, in the forests of which live a number of Dorobo hordes, those labelled Kipkurerek, Tindiret, Ravine, Loldiani, West Mau, and East Mau. From the Mau the southern Nandi escarpment runs eastwards towards Kavirondo Gulf, almost coinciding with the equator, and above this escarpment the Nandi country stretches northwards, with the small tribe of Terik adjoining it on the south-west. South of the escarpment is the Kipsikis country. The Nandi-speaking peoples thus enclose the open grassland where the

[a] There is in addition a number of scattered pockets of Tatoga between Lake Eyasi and Lake Victoria.

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Il-Wuasin-kishu Masai (Uasin Gishu) lived till they were broken up about 1850. The Nandi tribes are surrounded by other Nilo-Hamites (Karamojoŋ, Turkana, Masai) on the north, east, and south, and by the Bantu Kavirondo (AbaLuhya) and Nilotic Kavirondo (Luo) on the west.

Immediately to the east of the Nandi group lies the territory of the Masai (Group II), in and on both sides of the Rift Valley, stretching from Samburu in the north to about 6° south in Tanganyika Territory. In the north are the Sambur (Samburu) and, formerly, the Il-Aikipiak (Laikipia) east of the Rift Valley, with the old Uasin Gishu country enclosed by the Nandi west of the Rift. To the south of the Il-Aikipiak are the central Masai, comprising the Il-Kinopop extending right across the Rift Valley, the Loitai and Siria west of the Rift Valley, and the Il-Kaputie. These are the Kenya Masai. The country of the Tanganyika Masai, consisting of the Il-Kisonko and Il-Arusa, lies between Lolgorien on the west and Kilimanjaro on the east, narrowing as it goes southwards. There are settlements (*in-kurman* = farms) of the agricultural Masai from Lake Natron southwards. The Masai are bounded on the north and north-west by tribes of the Nandi group and by the Turkana; on the north-east by the scattered Randile and Borana; on the east by the Kikuyu and Kamba, Caga, Pare, and Shambaa (all Bantu tribes); on the south by the Bantu Kaguru and Nguru; and on the west by the Iraqw, Burungi, Shashi, Kurya, Gusii, Kipsikis, and Nandi, and by a short stretch of Bantu Kavirondo between Nandi and Elgon: the Nandi and Bantu Kavirondo were the neighbours of the Il-Wuasin-kishu who now no longer live here.

Scattered over the highlands are the Dorobo hordes (the *Dorobo division* of the Nandi group) which are found in four main concentrations: (i) Western, in the Mau forests (East Mau, West Mau, Ravine, Loldiani, Tindiret, and Kipkurerek hordes); (ii) Central or Rift Valley (Dundule, Saleta, Kidoŋ, and Digiri hordes); (iii) Eastern (hordes on the slopes of Mount Kenya and Kisima); and (iv) Southern, consisting of the Mosiro of the Talamai hills east of Kibaya in Tanganyika Territory. The Dorobo hordes are thus in contact with Nandi, Tuken, Keyo, Kipsikis, Masai, and Kikuyu; in spite of this, their language is in all cases a dialect of Nandi, though in some places where they are losing their identity (as in the case of the Kidoŋ) their Nandi speech is being forgotten and is in process of being replaced by Kikuyu.

The *Tatog division* of the Nandi group is separated from the nearest Nandi-speakers (the Kipsikis) by 200 miles of Masai territory. The Barabaig (Barabaik), the only tribe of this division of which we have any detailed knowledge, occupy the country in the triangle formed by Mount Hanang and Lakes Basotu and Balangida south of Lake Eyasi. They live in an enclave surrounded by Nilo-Hamites (Masai) and Bantu (Kaguru, Gogo, Nyamwezi, and Sukuma); in this enclave live also the Bantu tribes Isanzu, Nyiramba, and Nyaturu; the Bush people Hadzapi; the Sandawe; and the unclassified though supposedly Hamitic Gorowa and Iraqw.

The Hadzapi, Sandawe, Iraqw, and Gorowa are grouped together here as "unclassified" (Group III) in order to bring them into the Survey, for they cannot otherwise be easily fitted in, having no known relationship or specific cultural affinities with any other East African peoples.

All the Southern Nilo-Hamites are pastoralists, though most of them except the pastoral Masai practise a certain amount of agriculture. The Nandi group are mainly people who live in hilly country, though they are not mountaineers, and their land must be such that cattle can be kept. The Masai on the other hand are plainsmen and accustomed to open country. While the Nandi tribes lived and fought in all kinds of country, not minding bush so long as it was not too thick for cattle, though they avoided forest, the Masai were at a disadvantage once they got out of the open country. The Tatoga are also (it would appear) plainsmen. The Dorobo are forest-loving hunters, till recently dwelling inside the forests; they have shown a tendency to become pastoralists with some agriculture. The Hadzapi are "Bushmen," inhabitants of bush country, and like the South African Bushmen have shown no sign of changing their way of life. The Sandawe are hunters who have

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THE MASAI RESERVES

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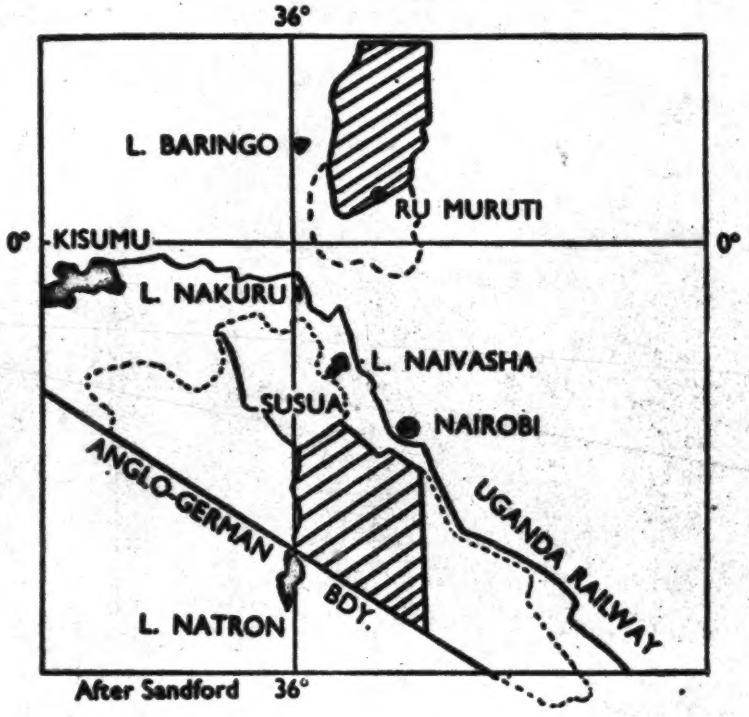

Original Masai Reserves, 1904.

Extension to Northern Reserve, 1906.

Extended Masai Reserve which superseded the two reserves, 1911.

DEMOGRAPHY

161 Population figures for 1919 and 1941 were estimated as follows, the 1941 figures including an estimated 10,000 Sambur:

	Kenya	Tanganyika	Total
1919	43,000	—	—
1941	60,000	Pastoral: 37,000 Agricul. 47,000 84,000	144,000

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The 1948 census gives the following figures:

		Male	Female	Total
Kenya	Nanuk	17,055	17,755	34,810
	Kajiado	12,583	12,925	25,478
	Sambur	9,800*	10,200*	20,000*
	Il-Tiamus	1,734	1,689	3,423
		41,142	42,569	83,711

* Estimated.

		Male	Female	Total
Tanganyika Districts	Arusha	24,710	27,310	52,020
	Masai	23,271	24,005	47,276
	Mpwapwa	728	740	1,468
	Handeni	435	537	972
	Pare	826	747	1,573
		49,970	53,339	103,309
Total for Masailand		91,112	95,908	187,020

This shows only a small increase over the 1941 estimate for the Kenya Masai, when 10,000 Sambur are deducted; but it doubles the previous estimate for the Sambur and shows a substantial increase in the Tanganyika Masai.

The livestock estimates for the Kenya Masai are:

	Cattle	Goats and sheep	Donkeys
1919	750,000	2,000,000	10,000
1890	700,000 to 1,000,000	1,000,000	170,000

The figures for cattle among the Tanganyika Masai are 500,000,[3] but these may be underestimated. They vary in fact from about 600,000 to 750,000 according to season and other factors.[4]

The total area of Masailand in Kenya and Tanganyika is about 41,000 square miles or 26,240,000 acres (15,000 square miles or 9,600,000 acres in Kenya, and 26,000 square miles or 16,640,000 acres in Tanganyika). After deducting 3,000 square miles or 2,000,000 acres from the Kenya Land Unit as being useless on account of bush or tsetse fly, the Kenya Masai have about three acres per head of stock which is shared with sheep and goats; whereas in country such as theirs cattle alone require anything from three to five acres per head, owing to the low rainfall, poor grazing, scarcity of rivers, and frequent droughts. Their Land Unit is also a Game Reserve.

SOURCES: Sandford, 1919; E.A. Census, 1948.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

At the height of their power in the middle of the 19th century the Masai occupied a stretch of country which covered some 500 miles from north to south, and, at its widest, 150 miles from east to west. The northern limit was approximately Lake Sukuta (now mud flats), 20 miles south of Lake Rudolf; the southern, Lenjoge, near

[3] F. H. Page-Jones, "Water in Masailand," *TNR*, 1948, p. 51.
[4] Information from Mr. H. A. Fosbrooke.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

Kiteto, some 50 miles south of Kibaya in Tanganyika. The most northerly Masai were (and still are) the Sambur, who in 1888 extended more than 120 miles northwards towards Lake Stefanie. This vast country, with an area amounting to some 80,000 square miles, now reduced to one-half its original size, has great varieties of altitude, climate, rainfall, and vegetation. There are three vegetation zones: the first or northern has desert scrub and a desert type of grass; the second or medium zone has thorn bush and medium grass; the third or highland zone has evergreen forest, parkland, and tall grass. In Kenya, the altitude of Masailand ranges from 5,000 to 8,000 ft., though in the highlands which lie between Mounts Kenya and Elgon in zone 3 the land in some places rises to 10,000 ft. Most of the present Masai Land Unit is in zone 2; part of the extreme northern territory of pre-European times is in zone 1. In Tanganyika, the Masai territory is at a lower altitude, ranging from 6,000 to 4,000 ft. and including the isolated mountains Kilimanjaro and Meru. Much of this country is unfertile, and belongs to zone 2. In Tanganyika Masailand, there is one permanent river, the Ruvu or Pangani, on the eastern boundary; there are a few seasonal rivers, but for their main water supply the Masai depend on wells, water-holes, and springs. Since only the third zone is well watered, and most of the Masai live in zone 2, their life is conditioned to a great extent by the water quest, and in the worst areas a form of transhumance is practised. In the present Masai Land Unit in Kenya, the rivers are few, and the rainfall low. Most of the few large rivers run close together in bush country useless for grazing; the main rivers, too, rise in the Mau and unite less than halfway across the Land Unit in one stream, the E-wuaso Ngiro. There are no lakes except the soda lakes Magadi, Natron, and Manyara, though in the northern part formerly occupied by the Masai is the chain of lakes Baringo, Hannington (salt), Solai, Nakuru (salt), Elmenteita, and Naivasha. The Rift Valley, in which these lakes lie, runs right through Masailand from south to north. In many places the floor of the valley is a wide grassy plain; in others, as in the Kerio Valley, it is narrow with high precipitous walls. The rainfall is low, the average for the eight years 1915–17 and 1930–4 at Narok being 18 ins., with a range of 47 ins. to 12 ins. It is recorded that at Longido in one year there fell only 8 ins., three of them in one night. With such a rainfall, grazing cannot be anything but scanty. The average rainfall recorded by three gauges in the Masai steppe between Kibaya and Arusha for nine years is 24.4 ins. There are two seasons, the dry weather from June to November, followed by short rains in November and December, after which there may be rain in January and February (January: 1915, 0.00 in.; 1916, 4.20 ins.; 1917, 9.44 ins.; February: 1915, 1.48 ins.; 1916, 5.09 ins.; 1917, 5.23 ins.; though in 1918—a dry year in Kenya—there was only 0.28 in. in February). The dry weather is called "the months of hunger" by the Masai. The recognized wet season is from March to May, "the months of plenty," though small amounts of rain may fall in other months, notably June to August, which are called "the months of showers." The figures given for Kenya refer only to Narok, and in the more arid parts there is not only less rainfall, but the small precipitation out of season has little effect on grazing or water supply. Except in the highland zone, where there is some seasonal variation, day temperatures vary only between 60° and 65° F.

SOURCES: Thomson, 1885; Sandford, 1919; Page-Jones, 1948; James, 1939.

MAIN FEATURES OF ECONOMY

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

In dry weather the cattle graze round the permanent waters; in the wet season the cattle are driven to the temporary waters that form, leaving the grass round the permanent waters to rest. In both seasons the kraals are built a few miles from the water supply. On one day the cattle are taken to drink, and on the next day they

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12
Agricultural Masai

In 1932 the Il-Tiamus numbered about 2,250 (3,423 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Masai stock, being descended from a Sambur section called Il-Doigio, they have admitted a variety of refugees including Kamasya, and become rather mixed. According to von Höhnel they had originally four villages at the south end of Lake Baringo, but two were deserted on account of Masai and Suk raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokua Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though von Höhnel saw none in 1887. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high-pitched and somewhat convex thatched roofs, and walls of posts and sticks. These are crowded into two permanent villages known as " Njemps Kubwa " and " Njemps Ndogo " in the Tigrish valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the closely packed huts almost touch each other, and the mud-walled granaries are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the Il-Tiamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Masai; they have circumcision and *eunoto* and other ceremonies, and practise the " free-love " system of the pastoralists, though without the *manyatas*. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation; but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all Il-Oikop to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Teleki, however, Njemps was an important station on the caravan route, and von Höhnel noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (he says of three to four miles square) which were intersected by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Tigrish. This system was still working in Dundas's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[12] Besides agriculture, the Il-Tiamus fished and hunted, using the bow, and spears of Suk and Turkana types.

It is possible that the fishing group called Il-Molo who live on the east shore of Lake Rudolf is to be classed as Il-Oikop.[13] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Teleki and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced no ill-effects; but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Gelaba blood in them.

The Il-Arusa round Mount Meru are a large tribe of agricultural Masai, originally of Bantu stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Masai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Baraguyu in Southern Masailand are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[14]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *ol-ayioni*. At circumcision[15] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *ol-murrani*, " one who is circumcised," and may associate with unmarried girls. At the *ol-gesher* ceremony he becomes an elder, *ol-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *ol-gesher* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[12] K. R. Dundas, *JRAI*, XL, pp. 49–55.
[13] W. S. Dyson and V. E. Fuchs, " The Elmolo," *JRAI*, 1937, LXVII, p. 327; von Höhnel, II, pp. 138–40.
[14] The people known as WaMeru in northern Tanganyika are not Masai, but people of Bantu stock who have imitated them.
[15] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 13–17 years; Fosbrooke gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

/5 cont./

II.

000 The East African steppes as habitation area of the Masai people. -- Their immigration in three corps. -- Their battles. -- Division and distribution of the land among Masai, Wakuafi, Wandoróbo and their attitude toward one another. -- Influence of the Masai people on the sedentary tribes. -- Mixture with Negroes. -- The somatic characteristics of the three branches of the Masai people show their racial connections, the ethnographic ones their social connections.

• 131 Between the 34th and the 38th degree of longitude and the 3rd degree north and the 7th degree south latitude, in German and British East Africa, we find large steppes, which are often designated as the Masai steppes after their inhabitants. They are bounded by hilly lands that are mostly thinly populated, especially by sedentary Negro tribes, and are more or less well cultivated.

133 The terrain formation of the steppes is sometimes flat, sometimes undulating or rolling, sometimes hilly and, in this case, usually determined by volcanic activity. This stands out especially drastically on the Kenia /Mt. Kenya/, Kilimandscharo /Kilimanjaro/, Meru, and Ol Donjo l'Eng ai, on the latter of which, for example, on a narrowly circumscribed space /6/ between the steep slope of the Mutiek Plateau, the Gilef and Timbati mountains, hill follows hill and almost every one bears or conceals the ruin of a crater, a landscape such as we are familiar with from photographs of the moon.

13 [182] The extent of the steppes, in connection with the existing amount of precipitation and water sites, made them a more than adequate region for a stock-raising nomadic people. The very saliferous soil produces excellent fodder grasses and provides salt licks in countless places.

17 131 174 As far back as the history, the memory and tradition of the people of these regions extend, and certainly still many, many centuries longer, these steppes were, and are up to the present day, the arena of the Masai people. On the migration, or, more accurately, slow push, they came from the north, out of the

18: Merker

FL12 Masai FL12

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p. 618	p. 619	p. 620
p. 621	p. 622	p. 623

Chart of Positions of End Map
[facing p. 618]

18: Merker--618 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper left section of the map./

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18: Merker--619 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper center section of the map./

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18: Merker--620 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Upper right section of the map./

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18: Merker--621 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower left section of the map./

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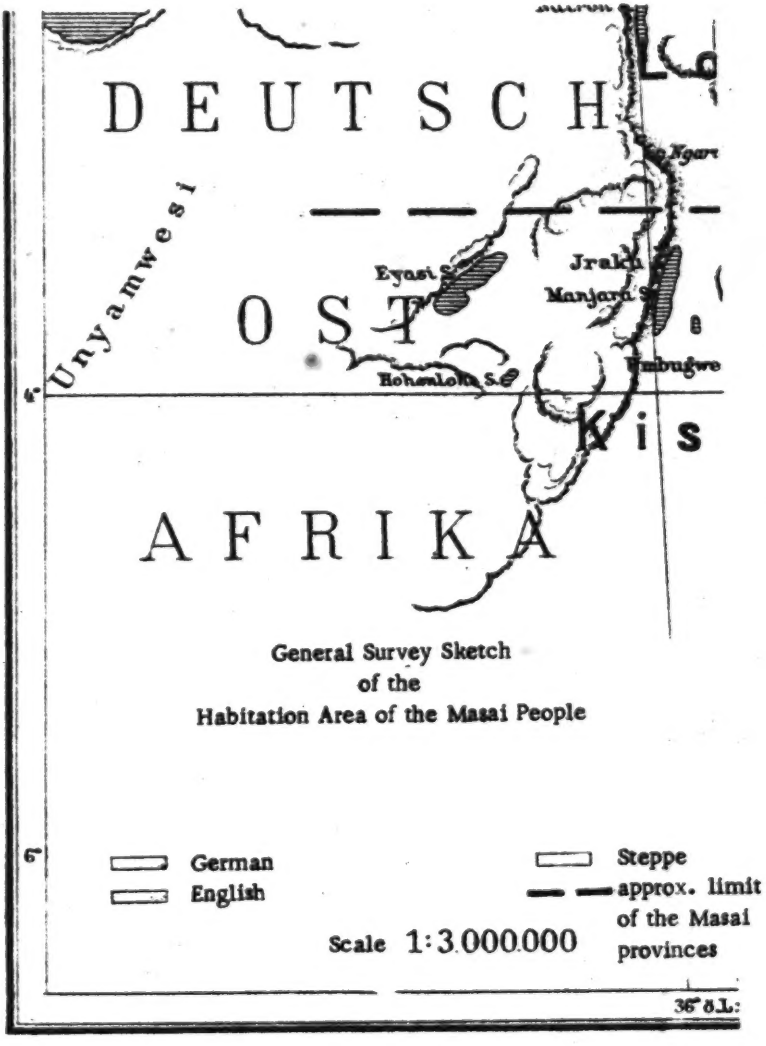

18: Merker--622 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

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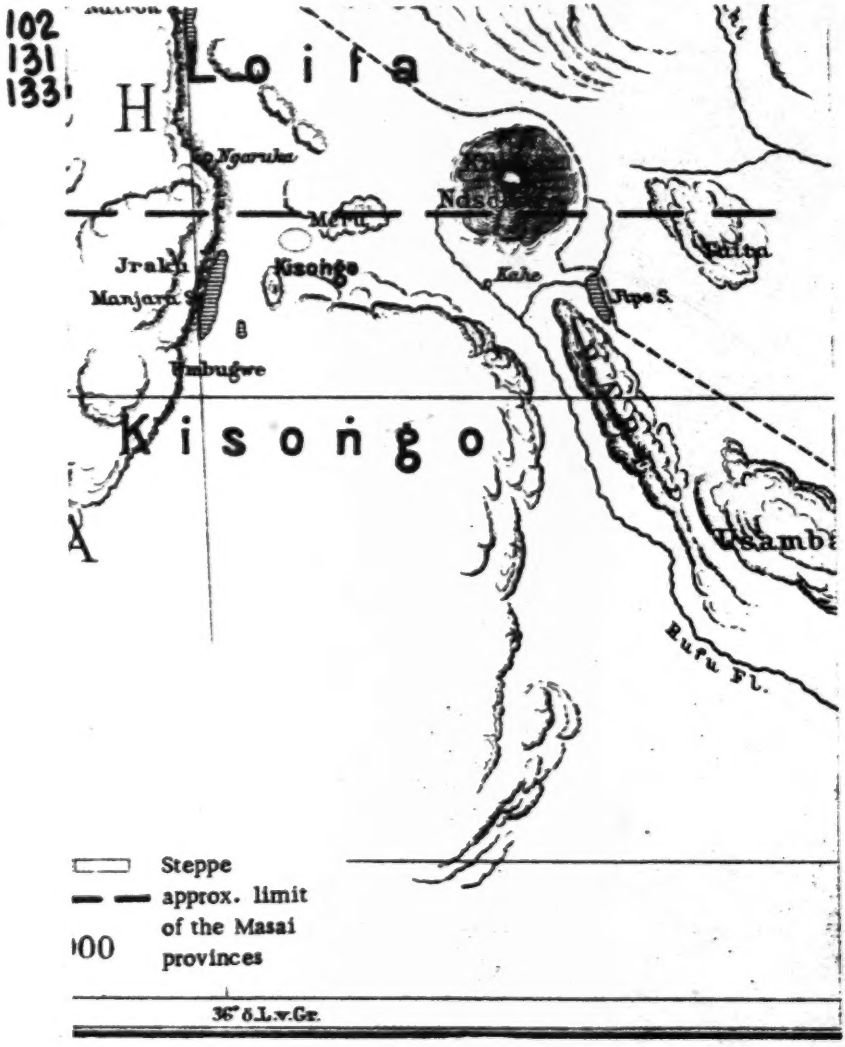

18: Merker--623 G-5 (1895-ca.1908) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

/Lower right section of the map./

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19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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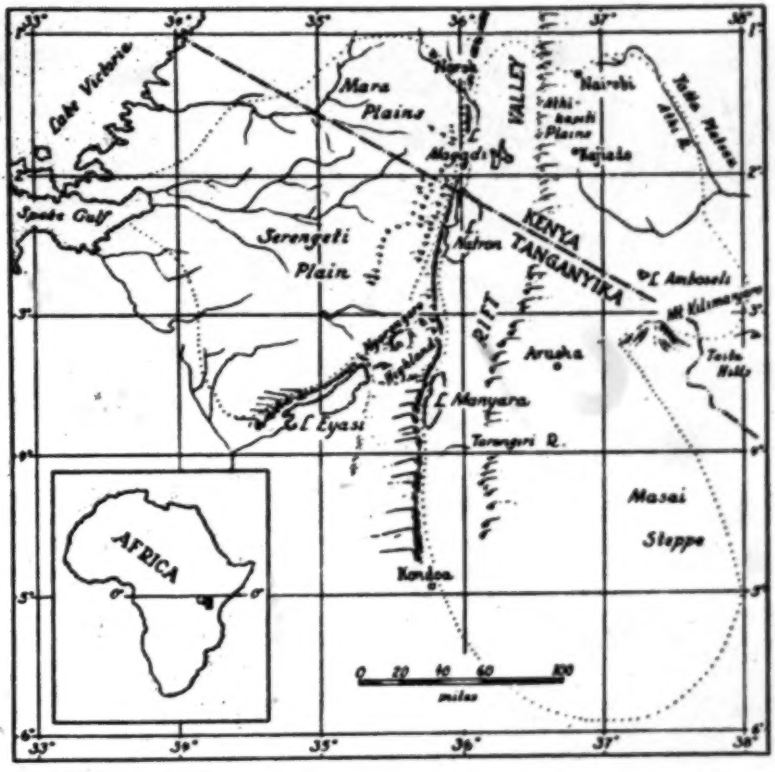

Figure 1. Masailand. The Western Wall of the Rift Valley Divides Western Masailand from Eastern Masailand.

INTRODUCTION

121 Within the past century the grassland ecosystems of Africa have been as much altered as those of the rest of the world. The assemblages of plains wildlife of which Roosevelt (1910) wrote in such wonder have now almost disappeared. One area, however, has remained largely unaffected by "progress."

101 *133 (131) The Serengeti-Mara region covers some 20,000 square miles of open or wooded plains land, rolling hills and flat prairies, lying across the Kenya-Tanganyika border just east of Lake Victoria. Most of the region lies in Western Masailand, and much of the part outside the Masai land unit is in Tanganyika's Serengeti National Park.

Topographically Western Masailand is well protected. The Great Rift Valley forms the eastern boundary of this region, and on the south the Rift plus the Ngorongoro Highlands provide a barrier; the north is protected by the Mau Escarpment, and on the west the Siria Escarpment and Lake Victoria form a discontinuous but effective boundary (Fig. 1).

101 The Masai tribe has provided the other major protection. Before the White Man arrived -- but only just

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

PRESENTATION AND DEFINITIONS

128 An ecological study is difficult to organize for presentation, since all the component parts are interrelated. The problem is to find a starting point. This difficulty is emphasized in a study as broad as this one. The form that has been adopted is as follows:

1. To provide a general description of the area and its significance to this type of study.

2. To describe, in turn, the various component parts of the ecosystem, treating each component separately but defining its relationships with the other components.

3. To bring the components together with a discussion of the nature of the ecosystem and its historical implications.

Methods used in the field collection of data are mostly described where appropriate in the text. The basic methods that apply to the entire study, however, do not belong in any one section, and these are described in the chapter on Compilation of Data.

130 131 Masailand is the term normally used in East Africa to denote the Masai administrative land unit, which includes about 15,000 square miles in Kenya and some 23,250 square miles in Tanganyika. The term 136 137

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

THE PHYSICAL SETTING

[31] [33] The Serengeti-Mara region in Western Masailand is a fan shaped piece of land covering about 20,000 square miles. The wide end of the fan lies in the east along the edge of the Great Rift Valley and the narrow point in the west at Lake Victoria (Fig. 1). The eastern edge averages about 6,000 feet elevation with occasional hills and plateaus rising to about 8,000 feet. There is a gentle, irregular slope westward to the lake region at 3,750 feet elevation. The Mau Escarpment and Nguruman Highlands rise to over 10,000 feet to the north and south.

Drainage is generally westward into Lake Victoria, the two major exceptions being the Southern Guaso Nyiro River which forms part of the boundary of the region in the north, and which runs south-easterly into the Rift; and the Olduvai Gorge and its watershed which forms an enclosed basin with no outlet at the base of the Nguruman Highlands.

Geology

[33] The Great Rift, or Gregory Rift Valley, has been described in detail by Joeger (1911, 1913), Gregory (1921), Willis (1936), and Uhlig and Joeger (1942). The two

160-200 miles airline north of Western Masailand, and it is a desert at present. A tribal elder called Maasinda found a way to climb the escarpment at the south of Kieru and some of the tribe then moved into the Kenya Highlands. The legendary Maasinda had six sons who became the founders of the present six Masai clans.

The tribe gradually moved south. At Ngong, near Nairobi, according to their traditions they found a Heaven-born child who became their first Laibon or Medicine Man (Hollis, 1905). Fosbrooke (1948) dated the arrival at Ngong at 1640 on the basis of the geneology of the Laibons founded by that legendary first child. During the next 150 years the Masai moved over 300 miles airline southward.

1800-1890: By 1800 a few Masai had made what proved to be the tribe's maximum penetration into Tanganyika but it was not until about 1880 that they had completed their occupation of what is now the Masai Steppe in Tanganyika (Fig. 1). [A] There had been constant warfare and raiding involved in this settlement, and the margins of Masailand fluctuated somewhat. For a time the Masai occupied the area immediately south of the Ngorongoro Highlands, as well as lands near Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru that are now in other hands.

[A] [See p. 9a.--Analyst]

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177 The people whom the Masai displaced in Tanganyika were mostly pastoralists. There were also some small tribes who practiced irrigated cultivation near the Rift wall and on some mountain flanks. Those who immediately preceeded the present Masai may have been related to them, and they, in turn, evicted prior residents. Some of these early people dug wells and built dams, but Fosbrooke (1948) believes that except for irrigation systems on some mountains, these water-works were for pastoralism rather than agriculture. There were also isolated tribes of metal workers in the south who may have provided the Masai with spears and knives.

In the study area, the Masai occupation of the [131] Ngorongoro Highlands and the Serengeti Plain was probably 175 completed by 1850. A people called the Il Datwa 648 occupied the highlands and much of the rest of the area, both north and south of Ngorongoro. These were probably both pastoralists and cultivators. Another similar tribe, the Sonjo, lived near the foot of the Rift near Lake Natron.

Somewhere between 1836 and 1851 the Masai drove the Il Datwa off of the Crater Highlands and the Serengeti Plain. The limestone walls of the eastern

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

175 [643] Serengeti are said by the Masai to have been dug by the Il Datwa, and they still call the Ngorongoro Highlands "Osopago loi Datwa" in memory of the people from whom 175 • 131 they took the area. In the next 15 years the Masai took the flat land immediately south of the highlands. Then, until about 1890, several section and sub sections of the Masai occupied the entire Serengeti Plain, the Ngorongoro Highlands, and the lands immediately west of the Rift. They lost the land south of the highlands through incursion of the tsetse fly, just as they lost other lands to the east and south of the present Masailand.

During the period of 1860 to 1890 the Masai were a prosperous tribe and they probably reached their maximum land holdings and cattle numbers. The area they occupied extended roughly 500 miles from north to south and 150 miles from east to west, an estimated 175 80,000 square miles. Under the leadership of their para- 721 mount Laibon, Mbatian, they raided from Lake Victoria to the Indian Ocean. Sanford (1919) and Simon (1962) quote excerpts from the writings of many early explorers referring to the extent and effect of these Masai raids. The raids were not confined to other tribes, however. Some of their more devestating battles took place between different sections of the Masai themselves.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

175 161 In terms of total population the Masai have greatly prospered under European administration. It has been estimated that at the peak of Masai power, before 1890, the total population of Masai was around 45,000 (Simon, 1962). By the mid 1920's they had recovered from their series of disasters and their numbers were estimated at about 50,000 (Joelson, 1928). The census of 1948 gave the total Masai population as 107,309 (Fosbrooke, 1948). The most recent census places the population at about 117,000.

175 648 Most of the Masai prosperity in the 20th century has taken place under the English administration. In 1891 the boundaries of the German Territory of Tanganyika stopped short of what is now Tanganyika Masailand, but it was included in the German "sphere of interest." [657] (Kiepert, 1891). Subsequently, apparently because there were so few Masai living in Masailand following their multiple disasters, the Germans created a Masai Reserve that was mostly south of an east-west line through Arusha. This division left the Ngorongoro highlands, the Loliondo area, and the highlands near Eastern Masailand free for European settlement and displaced the Masai living there. [131] This action further scattered the remnants of the Masai, some of whom moved north into Kenya and others south into

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

175 648 131 the German Masai Reserve. After the 1914-18 war the English allowed the Masai to return to most of the areas they formerly occupied in Tanganyika.

175 648 After defeating his brother, Lenana returned to Kenya and in 1902 he peacefully acknowledged British rule. The Masai were still very few in numbers but they ranged over a wide area of Kenya, grazing their cattle and raiding. In 1904 two Masai reserves were created, 175 648 657 131 a northern one of some 4,500 square miles in the Laikipia area, northeast of Western Masailand, and a southern one of about 4,350 square miles which included part of the present Eastern Masailand in Kenya. The Masai, led by Lenana, signed a treaty accepting the reserves in August 1904. This arrangement did not prove satisfactory for either the Masai or the English. Lenana found it difficult to control the northern Masai when he was in the south and requested that the reserved be joined. Consequently, after several years of negotiations, a treaty was signed in 1911 in which the Masai gave up the 4,500 square miles of the Northern Reserve and received in return over 9,000 square miles of land including what is now the Kenya portion of Western Masailand. Part of this area was unoccupied, some of it was European ranch land, and part of it had been occupied in former times by Masai. This new half of the Southern

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648 Reserve became Narok District, with headquarters at
667 Narok. The remainder of the Southern Reserve was
131 Kajiado District, with its headquarters at Kajiado, about 45 miles south of Nairobi on the Great North Road (Fig. 1). The Provincial headquarters for both districts was located at Ngong, just west of Nairobi.

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648 With subsequent extensions, the Masai in Kenya
131 received a total of over 15,000 square miles which included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya.

Partisans of the Masai say that the treaty of 1911 was a catastrophy for the Masai and that they were tricked by government into giving up good land for bad. It is also pointed out, however, that as a result of the treaty of 1911 the Masai received over twice as much as they lost, and that land included some of the finest grazing and forest land in Kenya. The treaty was requested and signed by the Masai leaders. As a result of that treaty, their population density in the reserve was probably about one and one third persons per square mile, so in terms of land, this treaty made the Masai one of the richest tribes in Africa.

175 Regardless of the logic, the move was resented

175 strongly by many of the Masai involved. Few of those who made the move are still living, but the memory of
175 it is kept alive by the Masai nationalists. The Masai in
181 Kenya's Western Masailand are, or are descended from,
184 those who made the move from Laikipia. They are characteristically more conservative and more distrustful of the government than other groups of Masai, and they attribute these attitudes to the move.

Fosbrooke (1948:11), an admirer of the Masai, attributes the conservatism of the Tanganyika Masai to their hardships from famine, pestilance, civil war, and German administration in this way:

> It is almost impossible to find at the present day an elder who did not go through considerable hardship in his youth. To anyone who has lost and regained a possession, such possession is of greater value, at least sentimentally. The Masai of Tanganyika lost their cattle, their mode of living and their tribal life, and largely by their own efforts have once again regained them. It is suggested that their intense conservatism and resentment of change may perhaps be better understood in the light of the foregoing.

175 During the German period the Masai were
648 largely excluded from the Western Masailand in Tanganyika,
131 although occasional raiding parties came through it. Between 1900 and 1905, according to Grant (1957), there was one Masai encampment or warrior's barracks

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

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• 131 at the Moru Kopjes on the western edge of the Serengeti Plain, just north of the headwaters of the Simiyu River (Fig. 3).[1] Western Masailand in Tanganyika is large and was virtually uninhabited by Europeans, so doubtless some Masai remained throughout the German period.

During the 1914-18 war the Germans retreated from northern Tanganyika. The Masai whom they had evicted began returning to their former grazing grounds. In addition, by the end of the 1914-18 war Masai from Kenya had penetrated the Serengeti region and the Ngorongoro Highlands. Part of these were from the Purko section, people who as a result of the 1911 treaty had moved from areas around Lake Naivasha to the Loita Plateau north of Loliondo. Others were of the Loita section who formerly lived on the Loita Plateau.

When the English took over Tanganyika as a Trust Territory after the 1914-18 war, they established all of Tanganyika Masailand as a single Masai District. Its headquarters were at Monduli, about 15 miles west of Arusha (Fig. 1).[2] In the study area the western boundary of the Masai District is the line between the Lake Province and the Northern Province (which includes the Masai District). This line was drawn by the Germans

[1] [See p.19.--Analyst] [2] [See p. 9a.--Analyst]

175 and it cuts through the Serengeti Plain roughly paralleling
648 the eastern border of the Serengeti National Park (Fig.3).
• 131 Grant (1957) notes that the line is an arbitrary one which did not take account of the actual distribution of the Masai. The Serenget section of the Masai formerly occupied the plains west of the line. When the Germans surveyed the area they apparently thought it uninhabited because the Masai had been dispersed by famine and civil war. After the 1914-18 war the Serenget Masai returned to the western Serengeti. They were then in Lake Province but they were so isolated from its administration that the District Officer for the Masai District at Loliondo handled their administration.

In 1920 the English administration evicted the immigrant Kenya Masai from Tanganyika in favor of the resident Kissongo section of the Tanganyika Masai. Since then the Kenya Masai have been moving southward again slowly.

*13 Early in German times the importance of the
648 unique wildlife concentrations in the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater were recognized (Grzimek and Grzimek, 1960a). During the period between the wars the Tanganyika Government created several nature reserves in the area protecting some of the wildlife from hunting, but not much affecting the Masai.

4: Kenyatta I-5 (no date) 1953
FL10 Kikuyu FL10
MASAI FL12

M 726 or parties travelled mostly during the night and spent the daytime in hiding, eating and preparing for the attack. After they located the cattle-pens they slept in a forest nearby until the dead of night, when they stealthily crept through the darkness and took the few herdsmen by surprise. The cattle-pens were surrounded and a few of the herdsmen killed to avoid any cry that would give the signal to the warriors of the enemy's tribe. The cattle were captured in this way and led away as quickly as possible, in a zigzag way, and at the same time some of the warriors were left behind to cover the trail and also to await the enemy who might follow; so that while they were engaged in fighting, the cattle would reach the starving families in Masailand. Sometimes it took some days before the raid was discovered, especially when the cattle were grazing far away from the homesteads.

K M 726 In this way the stock was lost and the lives of a few herdsmen. We can therefore compare the "tribal warfare" with the "smash-and-grab" practised in civilised Europe and in America. The only difference between the two systems is that smash-and-grab is a frequent practice, whereas the tribal warfare was an occasional raid, with long intervals in between. In some parts of the Gikuyu country, especially in the centre of the country, a generation passed without experiencing any raid at all.

K M 131 Apart from the fighting strength of, say, the Gikuyu or the Masai, there were natural features dividing the two tribes, such as huge forests full of all kinds of dangerous wild animals and snakes, which made the forests a very effective blockade. Sometimes, it is said that a party of warriors entered in the forests and never came back again, not that they fell in the hands of the enemy, but that they lost their way and were either devoured by the animals or

perished by starvation, thus feeding vultures and hungry hyenas. In places where there were no such natural barriers, and where the two tribes came into contact frequently, peace treaties were signed and friendly relations established. In this case intermarriages were one form of peace-making.

K M 648 581 To take a concrete case, my grandmother, on my father's side, was a Masai woman called Mosana, and in reciprocity for this friendly feeling, my aunt (i.e. elder sister of my father) was married to a Masai chief called Sendeu, and was treated as the head-wife. Exchange visits were made on both sides, and I had the opportunity of visiting her and stayed there for some months as a member of the family.

K M 648 721 In territories where this friendly relationship was established, especially between the Kaptei Masai and the Southern Gikuyu, the warriors of the two tribes joined together to invade another section of Masai, like Loita or a section of Gikuyu, like Mbeere or Tharaka. This information was given to me by my grandfather, Kongo wa Magana, who led several of these attacks as a fighting warrior and later as a magician of war.

000 It can be said that the relation between one tribe and another was no more or less than the relations existing in the present day between various tribes of Europe and America. The only difference is that the relations between European countries involve great suffering for the majority of the people, either through economic fights, tariff barriers and distribution of wealth, etc., or through actual fights in battle-fields. The case of the Spanish Civil War, where one tribe is fighting between itself, or the case of Japan and China, where a strong tribe is trying to dominate a weaker one, are illustrations.

K 722 The raids in the tribal warfare affected only a few villages,

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Aikipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakamoyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Shuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngembe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngembe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngembe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngembe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endaramuroni clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Aikipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare.

The Laruse, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from N-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeju, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigirialish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Sanya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Mwanya.